MEANING AND MOTIVATION OF THE CAR WATCHER
IN KNYSNA, SOUTH AFRICA

DISSERTATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

“South Africa, like so many other countries, was faced with a past blighted by gross human rights violations which had occurred during centuries of colonialism, racism, and repression.” (Boraine, 2000, p. 3) In the aftermath of apartheid, millions of South Africans are struggles to meet their basic survival needs of obtaining food and maintaining shelter. Yet, little research has been done on how this daily struggle for survival affects the South Africans’ meaning and motivation in life. The purpose of this study was to examine the motivation and meaning of a sample of South African people, specifically – the car watcher. It focused on the personal histories of people who were once oppressed under apartheid and examined what hopes they might have for the future and how their current living conditions affect their expectations for the future. This study investigated: (a) the background of the car watcher and his family members, (b) the car watcher’s satisfaction with the quality of life, (c) the car watcher’s hopes for the future, and (d) the impact of oppression on the car watcher’s life.

Six domains emerged from the data of the ten participants: (1) Family Concerns; (2) Concerns with self; (3) Work Issues; (4) Future Issues; (5) Home Life; (6) Education. Of the six major domains, there were four that appeared most prominent:
family, work, home life, and education, with each domain exerting an influence on one another. Eight of the ten participants appeared to be substantially struggling to meet their basic needs on a daily basis. This daily struggle appeared to prevent them from moving beyond their physiological needs to more psychological needs.

In addition, each car watcher spoke of being separated from family to some extent. This separation was often a result of the need to find work and become self-sufficient. Education was also affected by the car watchers’ home life. In order to satisfy basic needs, the car watchers deemed it necessary to sacrifice education for work. The car watchers who hope to have a family also realize that they have no means to provide for this responsibility. Furthermore, they are currently not able to see their family because their travel possibilities are limited due to lack of income. Often the car watchers feel a sense of hopelessness because the interaction of these obstacles appears overwhelming.

Implications for cross-cultural counseling are discussed and suggest that more research needs to be performed using non-Western theories. The findings also suggest that current literature on motivation and meaning may not be applicable to marginalized individuals who do not have the means to meet their basic needs.
Dedicated to the Car Watchers in Knysna, South Africa
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Chapters:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brief History of South Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in South Africa</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Bantu Education Act</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Education in South Africa</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences of Apartheid</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The South African Car Watcher</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose of the study</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Literature Review</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of Life in South Africa</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phenomenology and Ethnography</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Constructionism and Cross-Cultural Interviewing</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation and Meaning</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivation and Work</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonization and Decolonization</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualitative Methodology</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographics of participants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of theme domains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In the January 2002 Monitor on Psychology, Bridget Murray writes of the call for research aimed toward the people of South Africa. In a country of nearly 44 million people there are only approximately 5,000 psychologists and only five percent of them are research psychologists (Murray, 2000). South African psychologist Cheryl de la Rey, editor of the Journal of South African Psychology explains:

South African Psychology is not where it needs to be for good reasons. It was trapped within the service of apartheid and was intentionally underdeveloped. It was also isolated from the rest of the world. Now we need to enter international psychology scholarship, but also to challenge dominant Western paradigms with an African perspective (Murray, 2002, p.50).

Saths Cooper, president of South Africa’s Professional Board for Psychology affirms that by exploring the effect of the trauma brought on by apartheid, insight can be gained on how to overcome many of the country’s problems (Murray, 2002). Listening
to the voices of those who have once suffered may shed light on directions to take for future healing. Alex Boraine, a member of South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission, comments,

   South Africa, like so many other countries, was faced with a past blighted by gross human rights violations which had occurred during centuries of colonialism, racism, and repression.” (Boraine, 2000, p. 3)

In the aftermath of apartheid, economic apartheid still occurs. Millions of people are still unemployed, living in poverty, and living in makeshift shacks. On the outskirts of every city, there are shantytowns with thousands of dilapidated shacks. The majority of the black population still lives in these shantytowns. They who grew up during apartheid and did not have equal access to educational opportunities, so they are the low paid workers of today. In order to better comprehend the atmosphere of today’s South Africa, it is helpful to understand what events led up to this present day state of affairs.

Brief History of South Africa

For most of the past 100,000 years, South Africa has been occupied by small mobile groups of hunter-gatherers who learned to adapt to the harsh environment (Ross, 1999). Prior to the seventeenth century, South Africa was untouched by Western influence. However, in the early seventeenth century, the Europeans had discovered how to sail from their home countries to the southern coasts of Asia by navigating around the southern tip of Africa (Ross, 1999). During this time, Southern Africa’s Cape of Good Hope region became exposed to a new set of influences, and eventually succumbed to European conquest and settlement (Ross, 1999).
In 1652, the Dutch East India Company established a small settlement at the cape to provide fresh water and provisions for passing ships; it had no intention of founding a colony or a country (Goodman, 1999). These settlers came to be known as Boers because “Boer” is the Dutch word for “farmer” (Goodman, 1999). They were soon to become the only white tribe of Africa, also known as Afrikaners, and began almost immediately to venture across the coastal mountains into the interior of the cape in search of more land for their cattle (Ross, 1999). This interior was the homeland for nomadic Bantu people who traveled from place to place in search of food; they needed a large area to dwell in because they do not cultivate crops (Ross, 1999). The Bantus attempted to fight for their land, but their spears were no match for the Europeans' guns. As a result of the Boer domination, the Boers enslaved many of the Bantus and forced them to work on the colonists' farms (Ross, 1999).

Also, in 1658 the first shipload of slaves from the West African coastal areas was brought to the cape area. By 1795, the slave population grew to about 17,000 (Joyce, 1990). The rights of the slave population were severely restricted until emancipation in 1838. During this time, there was a significant psychological development that affects the country to this day. Slavery and the large pool of cheap labor created a general belief among whites that they were an innately superior race. This mindset eventually led to a white-dominated social order and the belief that manual work was not a satisfactory role for a white person (Joyce, 1990).
Great Britain assumed control of South Africa in 1795, after the Napoleonic Wars in Europe (Ross, 1999). English domination of the Dutch descendents resulted in the Dutch establishing the new colonies of Orange Free State and Transvaal. The discovery of diamonds in these lands around 1900 resulted in an English invasion that sparked the “Boer Wars” from 1899 to 1902, where the British soundly defeated the Boers (Ross, 1999).

By the mid-18th century, the white settlers had advanced far enough up the eastern seaboard to meet the Xhosa, one of the great black tribes of southern Africa. The white settlers disposed the Xhosas from their land and forced these natives to work for them (Ross, 1999). The British granted South Africa independence in 1910, but gave power only to white people.

In 1948, the National Party gained office in an election where only white people were allowed to vote. The party began a policy of racial segregation known as apartheid, the Afrikaans word for "apartness." Strategists in the National Party invented apartheid as a means to cement their control over the economic and social system (Boraine, 2000). Initially, the intent of the apartheid was to maintain white domination while extending racial separation (Boraine, 2000). With the enactment of apartheid laws in 1948, racial discrimination was institutionalized.

Race laws touched every aspect of social life, including a prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites, and the sanctioning of “white-only” jobs. In 1950, the Population Registration Act required that all South Africans be racially classified into one of four categories: white, black (African), colored (of mixed decent) or Asian (Ross,
White people were the most privileged, followed by colored (biracial) and Asian, then black Africans. A year later, the Bantu Authorities Act established a basis for ethnic government in African reserves, known as “homelands.” These homelands were independent states to which each African was assigned by the government according to the record of origin – which was frequently inaccurate (Ross, 1999). All political rights, including voting, held by an African were restricted to the designated homeland; the idea was that they would be citizens of the homeland, losing their citizenship in South Africa and any right of involvement with the South African Parliament that held complete control over the homelands (Ross, 1999).

In 1961, South Africa was forced to leave the British Commonwealth because of its racial policies (Ross, 1999). From 1976 to 1981, four homelands were established, denationalizing nine million South Africans. Laws were then passed requiring non-whites to carry a "pass" to prove they had permission to travel in the white areas of South Africa (Ross, 1999). More than eighty percent of South Africa's land was set-aside for its white residents, despite the fact that they comprised less than ten percent of the population (Boraine, 2000).

In the late 1970's through the 80's, a spirit of collective responsibility, as well as cold war politics, persuaded nations to take actions against South Africa and to pressure the South African government to end apartheid (Boraine, 2000). The United Nations issued a series of declarations urging member states to embargo South Africa. This embargo included economic sanctions and travel restrictions to and from South Africa. South Africa yielded to world pressure and domestic violence in 1990 by repealing most
of the apartheid laws and also lifted the ban of the political parties in opposition to the ruling National Party (Joyce, 1990). Nelson Mandela was released from prison in February of 1990. In April 1994, the first democratic election took place despite serious attempts to undermine it. Nelson Mandela, a Xhosa prince by birth, was elected president. In 1996, the new constitution of South Africa was ratified granting equal rights to all people, regardless of issues including race, gender, religion, and sexual orientation.

Today, South Africa is a “rainbow nation” of many colors and cultures, encompassing Zulu, Tswana, Xhosa, Sotho, Indian, Afrikaans and those of British origin. There are 11 official languages (Ross, 1999). The apartheid years have left huge inequalities between rich and poor. The country is attempting to raise the living standards of the poorest sectors of the population by educating the population and building skills to drive the economy. Currently, nearly a third of the population is unemployed and the distribution of wealth remains unbalanced with 10 percent of the population, mostly whites, controlling 80 percent of the resources (Murray, 2002). In 1996, the SAIRR (South African Institute of Race Relation) reported that 54.5% of rural and 50.8% of urban dwellers lived in poverty and that 95% of all poor in South Africa are black. Racial tension is still present in South Africa as the country struggles to overcome the consequences of its oppressive past. Much of the black population resent the fact that most of the wealth is maintained by whites, while the many whites resent programs, such
as affirmative action, that are put in place to overcome this inequality (Murray, 2002). The rising rates of violence and crime, as well as, increasing numbers of HIV cases are also a challenge to this country in its attempt at reform (Murray, 2002).

Education in South Africa

It is an accepted fact that education plays an important part in determining the opportunities that a person has for his/her future. Therefore, it is important to understand what education was provided to black South Africans during apartheid. In this study, the participants had limited access to education during the apartheid era.

*The Bantu Education Act*

The Bantu Education Act was passed through Parliament in 1953. This act placed the education of blacks under control of the state (Joyce, 1990). The Bantu Education Act was aimed at thousands of private schools, mostly church mission schools, and effectively reduced the quality of education for black Africans. Its purpose was to train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities (Joyce, 1990). These opportunities were largely limited to unskilled and manual jobs. The parliament’s mindset was that higher education for native Africans would result in frustrated people who would expect more of their lives than the government was willing to provide. The mission schools were thought to breed false expectations to the black South Africans; therefore missionaries where considered to be undesirable teachers. The Bantu Education Act would slowly lower the quality of the education for black South Africans decade by
decade, and in return would greatly limit the social mobility of the black population. In 1994, the SAIRR reported that 80% of black South Africans could not read at a Standard 5 level, the basic level of literacy.

**Current Education in South Africa**

Formal schooling in South Africa spans 13 years. The first year or “reception year” as well as the last three years of schooling are not compulsory (Garson, 2002.) Each year is referred to as a “standard” as compared “grade” of the American system. “Matric” is the final year of schooling and in order to graduate, a student must pass the matric exam. Passing the matric exam requires that a student pass three subjects at the matric level (Garson, 2002.) Passage of the matric exam is the minimum requirement for university or technical college study. Most schools in the townships and rural areas continue struggling to provide quality education with limited resources.

**Consequences of Apartheid**

The educational system during apartheid still has an impact on the people of South Africa. The illiteracy rate for adults over the age of 15 is approximately 30 percent (Garson, 2002.) For people of color, the percentage rate of those with at least a high school education is between 14 and 17 percent, compared to 65 percent of white people.

The “liberation now, education later” stance taken during the years of the anti-apartheid struggle severely damaged the culture of learning and teaching in schools and universities. Instead of places of learning, they became sites of protest. (Garson, 2002, p. 3)
In August of 1954, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, then the Minister of Native Affairs, explained the rationale of lowering the educational standard for native Africans. At that time, he communicated,

"We sincerely believe that the way to a better understanding between White and Black is through honesty of purpose, and by providing that the Black man is of value to society. This road is, of necessity, a hard one in South Africa, where the belief is that an African educated is a good labourer spoiled (Joyce, page 29)."

During apartheid, many underground or backyard schools emerged to educate the South African people of color. Since many Africans did not have access to the education system, they had to create opportunities to support themselves. Job opportunities were limited so many Africans became domestic workers and manual laborers. The phenomenon of the car watcher emerged.

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

There are two methods that international law primarily uses when dealing with human rights violations: Tribunals and Truth Commissions. Tribunals follow the traditional litigation system; an example of this is the Nüremberg Court. Truth commissions are designed to elicit actual occurrences of human rights violations without the threat of retribution. These commissions grant amnesty to those who committed these violations so that they can obtain full disclosure of reliable information. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission’s (TRC) main objective was to investigate the gross human rights violations that occurred during apartheid from March 1, 1990 to May 10, 1994. It
sought to locate the survivors of these violations and give them the opportunity to
describe their experiences in order to recommend reparation. After this investigation was
completed, the TRC reported its findings to the nation. The goal of the TRC was to seek
reconciliation that would promote healing among the people of South Africa so that they
could let go of the past and move to future growth (Boraine, 1997).

The South African Car Watcher

Upon a visit to Knysna, South Africa, I noted a phenomenon that sparked my
curiosity. (See Appendix A for a map locating South Africa and the town of Knysna). In
nearly every parking lot, individuals were positioned as self-appointed car watchers.
These people are multiracial and black Africans who once lived under apartheid rule. It
appears that they claimed an area in which they provided the service of watching people’s
cars. In hopes of earning a tip, the car watcher guaranteed the car owner that no harm
would come to the owner’s car. Car theft is one of the consequences of the high poverty
in South Africa; the SAPS Crime Information Management Centre (2002) estimates that
there are two car thefts for every 100 cars. Most often, the owner of the car ignores the
car watcher or verbally degrades him or her.

I spent substantial time observing this interaction and my curiosity made me
wonder what motivates the car watcher to show up daily to face a substantial amount of
verbal abuse in order to earn a minimal amount of money. I also wondered what
differentiated the car watchers from the many people who spent their day begging for
money or merely surviving off of the small amount of money given by the government.
Do the car watchers find value in providing a service, thus earning their money? What motivates them to face the verbal abuse on a daily basis? Do they feel a responsibility to protect those in “their territory?” What hopes for the future do these people have?

These questions prompted me to choose the car watcher as the focus of this current research. These people are black Africans who once lived under apartheid rule. By sharing stories, the car watcher might provide a glimpse of how a person with an oppressive past is able to cope and find meaning and motivation for a better future.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the motivation and meaning of a sample of South African people, specifically – the car watcher. It focused on the personal histories of people who were once oppressed under apartheid and examined what hopes they might have for the future and how their current living conditions affect their expectations for the future. Alternatively, it attempted to unravel some people’s skepticism of a promising future. This study was qualitative in nature and attempted to share the stories of some people who in the past were not given a voice for their future. It also attempted to continue a bridge of communication to connect the gap in cultural understanding between this small group in South Africa and others in the world.

Saths Cooper noted that international research will provide an exchange of ideas and interventions that can significantly help South Africa address its national concerns. In addition, international psychology can benefit from gaining insight into reconciliation
and forgiveness (Murray, 2002). This study aims to add literature addressing how oppression and economic hardship affects motivation and meaning in a person’s life.

This study investigated:

- The background of the car watcher and his family members
- The car watcher’s satisfaction with the quality of life
- The car watcher’s hopes for the future
- The impact of oppression on the car watchers life
Moller (1998) presents data on subjective well-being in South Africa during the 1980s and 1990s. The research for this data was performed in four waves. Wave one and Wave two were performed during the years of apartheid, 1983 and 1988, respectively. Wave three and Wave four were post-apartheid samples. The samples were divided into 4 racial groups: black, coloured, Indian, and white. During each wave, black South Africans were significantly less content with their overall well-being than their other racial counterparts. At each wave, the gap between overall well-being narrowed. However, this narrowing was due to the growing discontent among the non-black population and not the increased sense of well-being of the blacks.

There was also a noted “post-election euphoria” after the first free elections in 1994 among the black South Africans. During this time in 1995, the blacks reported a slightly higher sense of overall well-being (33%) than those of whites (25%). Consistently in this data, coloured and Indian statistics fall between the black and white statistics. Percentages for current and projected past and future life satisfaction reveal a
crossover effect. When reporting past satisfaction for the five years prior to 1995, 34% of blacks reported a high satisfaction while 76% of whites reported the same.

For current satisfaction in 1995, blacks reported an increase to 39% and whites decreased to 60%. For projected satisfaction, 45% of blacks believed that they would feel more satisfaction in five years and the whites decreased to 13%.

Overall levels of subjective well-being declined gradually over the period from 1983 to 1995, with exception of the “post-election euphoria” experienced by black South Africans. As the population’s satisfaction declined, so did its confidence in the country’s economic performance and trust of the new government. Much of this decline may result from the unfulfilled election promise of “a better life for all.” Many South Africans felt the delivery of the election promises was slower than expected.

Four examples of declining satisfaction are: family happiness, family health, housing, and public services. Concerning family happiness, 84% of blacks reported being satisfied in 1983, which dropped to 61% in 1995 (whites fell from 92% to 86%). For family health, 61% of blacks reported being satisfied in 1983, dropping to 54% in 1995 (whites fell from 90% to 87). Satisfaction with public services fell from 33% to 24% for blacks (and from 80% to 51% for whites). The greatest decline appeared in housing. In 1983, 61% of blacks were satisfied with their present dwelling, falling to 39% in 1995, with whites falling to 90% from 93%.

Phenomenology and Ethnography

The concept of ethnography centers on cultural anthropology (Patton, 1997). Ethnographic inquiry assumes that any group of people who interact together for a period
of time will exhibit a culture (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994). Patton (1997) explains that ethnographers use participant observation and immerse themselves in the culture under study as is in the tradition of anthropology. Goodenough (1971) defines culture as a collection of behavior patterns and beliefs that constitutes “standards for deciding what is, standards for deciding what can be, standards for deciding how one feels about it, and standards for deciding how to go about doing it” (p. 21). Atkinson & Hammersley, (1994) present ethnography as having the following features:

- A strong emphasis on exploring the nature of particular social phenomena, rather than setting out to test hypotheses about them
- A tendency to work primarily with ‘unstructured’ data, that is, data that have not been coded at the point of data collection in terms of a closed set of analytic categories
- Investigation of a small number of cases, perhaps just one case, in detail
- Analysis of data that involves explicit interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions (p. 248)

Phenomenology tends to have a different focus than ethnography. Where ethnography focuses on a cultural groups’ values, beliefs, and practices, phenomenology deals with eliciting the essence of experiences (Morse, 1994). The primary focus of a phenomenological approach is exploring how human beings make sense of an experience and give it meaning. The goal is to inquire about how they perceive, describe, feel about, and make sense of the phenomenon (Patton, 1997). In order to do this, an investigator
must engage in detailed interviews with people that have direct experience with the phenomenon of interest; they must have direct experience with it as opposed to second hand experience (Patton, 1997).

If a research question concerns the meaning of a phenomenon, then the method that would best answer the question is phenomenology; if the question concerns the nature of the phenomenon, then answer is best obtained using ethnography (Morse, 1994). Often, more than one method may be used within a study so that a researcher can gain a more holistic view of the setting (Morse, 1994). In this study, an ethnographical approach was used to explore that culture of the Knysna car watcher, and a phenomenological approach was used to explore the meaning or essence of having purpose.

Social Constructionism and Cross-Cultural Interviewing

Ethnographic interviewing has always been considered cross-cultural. In terms of culture, a social constructionist approach to meaning places emphasis on the collective generation of meaning as shaped by language and other social processes (Patton, 1990). Concerning culture, it is a postmodern belief that people create their own reality and assign meaning to it (Allan & Allan, 2000). This process determines how they interpret their experiences and the way they interact with others. Constructivism is the concept that the individual creates reality, and constructionism is the idea that social interaction assigns meaning (Miller, Hubble, & Duncan, 1996). Social constructionism is a way of thinking about the universe and everything in it and is an approach that encourages us to question everything we take for granted (Patton, 1990). It encourages us to look at the
world in a different way and to consider that someone looking from another perspective might regard the things that we believe to be significant and true in a different light. Social constructionism emphasizes the impact that culture has on the individual; it dictates the manner in which we see things and gives each of us a different perspective on the world around us (Patton, 1990).

One challenge of performing cross-cultural qualitative research is overcoming misunderstandings and miscommunications between the researcher and the interviewee. Rubin and Rubin (1995) have noted:

If you are going to cross social gaps and go where you are ignorant, you have to recognize and deal with cultural barriers to communications. And you have to accept that how the person being interviewed sees you will affect what is said (p. 39).

It is also important to note that there may be cultural differences for what topics or questions are acceptable to ask in an interview; many topics that are freely discussed in Western societies are taboo in other parts of the world (Patton, 1990). It is clear that an effective study will attempt to understand the perspectives of others and gather valid, reliable, and useful information while at the same time demonstrate a special sensitivity and respect for differences within and between cultures. “As difficult as cross-cultural interviewing may be, it is still far superior to standardized questionnaires for collecting data from nonliterate villagers” (Patton, 1997, p. 394).
Motivation

Freud was one of the first to address human motivation. He argued that throughout a person’s life, the main motivation was sex. He claimed that a person’s sexual motives are unconscious and they cannot be acknowledged without overwhelming feelings of guilt and anxiety (Reiss, 2000).

Carl Rogers (1950) believed that people are motivated by the desire to grow or to self-actualize and the desire for self-acceptance. He noted that the key to a satisfying life is to live in accordance with one’s personal values. In this study, I utilized a Rogerian approach to investigate if the car watchers possess this desire for self-acceptance. For example, does the position of being a car watcher satisfy the personal value of being self-reliant?

From 1939 to 1943, Abraham Maslow performed research on human motivation, proposing that there are five levels of basic needs (Maslow, 1970). As humans fulfill the more basic needs, they are then able to pursue needs at a higher level. A person’s most basic needs are physiological, consisting of the need to satisfy hunger, thirst, and sleep. The next four levels of psychological needs are for safety, love, esteem, and self-actualization. Maslow (1970) argues that an individual’s desire to satisfy the higher needs are equally a part of human nature as satisfying the need for food. Maslow (1970) also argues that the need to obtain self-esteem is universal. How a person achieves this self-esteem may differ dramatically across cultures; it is the end result that shares the commonality (Maslow, 1970).
Maslow’s theory of motivation states that all people in society have a need or desire for a stable, high evaluation of themselves and to feel sense of self-respect and high self-esteem (Maslow, 1970). Satisfaction of the self-esteem need leads to feelings of self-confidence, strength, and competence.

Reiss (2000) presents the concept that human beings are motivated to satisfy 16 basic desires:

- Power – the desire to influence others.
- Independence – the desire for self-reliance.
- Curiosity – the desire for knowledge.
- Acceptance – the desire for inclusion.
- Order – the desire for organization.
- Saving – the desire to collect things.
- Honor – the desire to be loyal to one’s parents or heritage.
- Idealism – the desire for social justice.
- Social Contact – the desire to for companionship.
- Family – the desire to raise one’s own children.
- Status – the desire for social standing.
- Vengeance – the desire to get even.
- Romance – the desire for sex and beauty.
- Eating – the desire to consume food.
- Physical Activity – the desire for exercise of muscles.
- Tranquility – the desire for emotional calm.
While Maslow’s needs are fixed to a hierarchy, Reiss claims that each person has his or her own hierarchy of basic desires. Although each person shares the same desires, it is how he or she experiences the strength of each desire that affects the personal interaction with one another. Because of this variation in the basic desires, no two people benefit from the identical experience in the same way (Reiss, 2000). Reiss’ model may have an advantage over Maslow’s for cross-cultural studies. Reiss recognizes that the hierarchy of desires may vary from one person to another. This flexibility also allows for cultural differences.

Samuel (1984) presents another theory of motivation. He explains that the amount of motivation to fulfill one’s needs is situational. How one perceives urgency, survival, appeal and risk may vary from one moment to another; thus motive power itself is situational. In this study, it may be that the oppression of apartheid could be affecting the car watchers’ desire to fulfill their needs. It is possible that the car watcher’s struggle for survival suppresses other desires in his personal hierarchy. Samuel also points out that there are needs overlapping other needs and needs within needs; therefore, human beings have a complex arena of motivation and behavior.

Motivation and Meaning

In the twentieth century, Europe also experienced human rights violations in the Nazi death camps. Through the inhumane suffering of these events, Psychiatrist Viktor Frankl created his theory of motivation. Frankl spent the majority of his successful career exploring human beings’ basic human desire for inspiration and meaning. He endured years of unspeakable horrors in Nazi death camps. Through his suffering,
emerged his theory that a human beings’ foremost motivational force in life is his or her search for meaning. Before his death in 1997, Frankl noted, “Today, man’s will to meaning is frustrated on a worldwide scale. Ever more people are haunted by a feeling of meaninglessness that is often accompanied by a feeling of emptiness…an existential vacuum.” (Frankl, 2000, p.139)

Frankl (1984) writes:

The meaning of life differs from man to man, from day to day, and from hour to hour. What matters, therefore, is not the meaning of life in general but rather the specific meaning of a person’s life at a given moment” (p. 130).

He notes that even though the meaning in life is always changing, it never ceases to be. According to Frankl (1984), an individual can discover meaning in life in three different ways: (1) by creating work or doing a deed; (2) by experiencing something or encountering someone; and (3) by the attitude we take toward unavoidable suffering.

Frankl (2000) also insists that life has meaning under all circumstances; that an individual’s “will to meaning” is the strongest motivation for living. He also asserts that even when people are not given the freedom to find meaning, such as in times of oppression, one can find meaning through meaningless situations (Frankl, 1984).

Concerning suffering, Frankl (1984) proposes that when suffering takes on a meaning, it ceases to be suffering. Once suffering takes on meaning, it becomes a motivator; one can then use the experience for personal growth. When we are unable to change a situation, we are challenged to change ourselves. By doing this, we emerge a stronger being.
Oppression is an indication of suffering. Today, many black Africans are still experiencing economic apartheid. According to Frank’s theory, the oppression itself may be a catalyst that potentially fosters motivation.

Sommer and Baumeister (1998) comment that human beings have a fundamental need to search for meaning. They also argue “people seek meaning in ordinary events along the same lines that they seek meaning in life generally” (p. 143). Baumeister (1991) presented four needs for human meaning: (1) a sense of purpose in life, (2) a desire for efficacy and control, (3) a sense that their actions are morally justified and have positive value, and (4) a sense for self-worth. He believes that people are content when these needs are met and also that people have the need to makes sense of events that challenge their personal meaning (Baumeister, 1991). Making sense of these negative events often leads to a searching for a higher purpose of their suffering (Sommer & Baumeister, 1998).

When referring to Baumeister’s (1991) need for purpose, he mirrors Frankl’s (1984) thoughts affirming that a person is on earth for a reason and that reason may be assigned by oneself, society, or by divine power. Whatever the reason, people are motivated when they sense that their current behaviors are linked to future desired outcomes (Sommer & Baumeister, 1998). Sommer and Baumeister (1998) also note that actual achievement is less important than the process of working toward future goals.

Concerning the need for efficacy, Sommer and Baumeister (1998) suggest that people have a need to feel as if they have an impact in the world and that they are able to invoke particular outcomes. It is important for individuals to perceive that they can
achieve these outcomes. Also, in relation to actions and behaviors, people have a need to view their actions as “good and just” (p. 151). They want to be able to look upon past behaviors as moral and just. Finally, Sommer and Baumeister (1998) assert that people’s need for self-worth pertains to a sense that their own characteristics and skills draw out positive recognition from others. People want to feel good about themselves and also have other’s thinking positively about them; therefore, self-worth materializes as a vital component of personal meaning. In this study, Sommer and Baumeister’s theory may suggest that the car watchers are finding self-worth by providing a service for others.

Motivation and Work

Work is found in virtually every culture; for thousands of years, the bulk of humanity has labored. Work has affected most every aspect of human culture. A person’s work affects his or her emotions, feelings, social beliefs, attitudes, and personality (Neff, 1977). Neff also asserts that each type of work has a subculture that has its own traditions and customs that is largely unknown to those outside of their work environment. The type of work that people do has an impact on their self-identity and how others identify them. Their work is one of the major components of self-esteem and is a determinant of esteem by others (Neff, 1977). In addition, a person who has suffered the consequences of long-term unemployment may be too demoralized or too unmotivated to make the required effort to obtain employment. There is also a set of people that have not internalized the social norms of a work-oriented society and have no intrinsic need to engage in work activities (Neff. 1977).
Colonization and Decolonization

Colonization is based on the doctrine of cultural hierarchy and supremacy. It is the establishment and control of a territory, for an extended period of time, by a sovereign power over a subordinate and “other” people who are segregated and separate from the ruling power. Colonization or the “colonial complex” is:

the “colonial complex”: (1) colonization begins with a forced, involuntary entry; (2) the colonizing power alters basically or destroys the indigenous culture; (3) members of the colonized group tends to be governed by representatives of the dominate group; and (4) the system of dominant-subordinate relationship is buttressed by a racist ideology (Marger, 2000, p.132). Colonization relies on the ability to make the indigenous people dependent upon the colonizing entity. Dependency theory is when the colonizing states exploit their colonizing regions to enhance their own development and accumulation of capital. Dependency theory is based on Karl Marx’s thesis, which articulates the relationship between classes based on economic dominance (Marger, 2000). The dominant class possessed the tools of power in society. These tools consisted of wealth, the means of production, knowledge, and intellect to manipulate and exploit the uneducated laborers (who are mostly without education, food, and shelter from the elements). Above all, the most important tools of power this class used were the state laws, military, and political clout.

Frantz Fanon (1963) asserts that the colonial world is really a Manichean world; there is that of the native village and that of the settler’s village. Between these two worlds are the policeman and the soldier, they are the true officials and liaisons of the
colonial system. The dividing lines between these two separate worlds are the barricades, barbwire and police stations. Fanon illustrates the differences of these two worlds in his description of the settler village and the native village.

The settlers’ town is a strongly built town; the streets are covered with asphalt… The settler’s town is well-fed town, an easygoing town; its belly is always full of good things. The settlers’ town is a town of white people of foreigners.

The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire (Fanon, 1963, p.39).

Fanon (1963) developed his theory of decolonization and proposed that the human mind can be colonized much like a country can be colonized. Usually, the educational system is used to colonize the mind. He argues that colonization continues through the “native bourgeoisie” (Fanon, 1963). The “native bourgeoisie” are part of the elite of the former colony, and their minds have been colonized to perpetuate Western values. They were educated in Western countries and hold positions of power in their countries. Not willing to relinquish power, they do not participate in the emancipation of their people.
Decolonization emerges through consciousness raising (Fanon, 1963). It is an active process that allows the colonized people to view themselves as human, standing on an equal plain with the colonizers. Fanon proposes that decolonization is a life-long process and that individuals are never completely colonized.

Qualitative Methodology

South African research has primarily used a Western quantitative approach (Holdstock, 1981) and continues to adhere to the western approach to psychology (Stead & Watson, 1998). Kim and Berry (1993) suggest that to get a better perception of people, it is necessary to have an understanding of how people view themselves and the world in an environmental context. This approach is known as indigenous psychology. Many African cultures value the oral tradition; therefore, storytelling and qualitative research may present a more indigenous understanding of the South African culture. The indigenous psychology movement underscores the importance of cultures developing their own indigenous understanding. The changing, and at times, unstable social and economic environment in South Africa demands that practical solutions to issues surrounding work are rooted in research that is culturally and contextually sensitive (Stead & Watson, 1998).

Sommer and Baumeister (1998) assert that research examining the construction of personal meaning is best related in story form. Therefore a qualitative approach is recommended. In addition, traditional quantitative methods are limited when examining complex phenomena and persons (Hill, Thompson & Williams, 1997). Gelso and Fretz, (2001) suggest that there is a need to incorporate qualitative constructionist approaches in
modern research. Using established qualitative techniques might provide researchers with their best opportunities to find totally new and unexpected variables to investigate in relation to behaviors (Gelso & Fretz, 2001).

Post positivist research attempts to examine all factors that contribute to the participant’s life and examines unique experiences, inner processes, and complex phenomenon (Hill et al., 1997). Hill and associates (1997) also assert that qualitative research provides rich data that use the naturally occurring phenomenon for conclusions and also the researchers benefit by the fact that researchers are not limited to initial hypotheses. A researcher is able to investigate findings as data occurs.

In this study, the method of consensual qualitative research (CQR) will be utilized so that individual themes can emerge from the data. The method of CQR was influenced by grounded theory (Hill at al., 1997). Grounded theory is a type of qualitative research that develops themes and theories as data collection progresses. Themes and categories emerge throughout the development of the research project. From these themes the researcher will develop hypotheses that will then help to create or expand stories.

CQR also seeks to develop conclusions generated from the data. The researcher continually generates hypotheses from the data and examines people’s experiences in a nonlinear fashion. CQR differs from grounded theory in the following ways:

- All the data are collected before it is analyzed to ensure consistency with the findings.
- A research team is constructed in order to obtain consensus with the findings.
The data are coded into common themes and ideas are then abstracted from the codes.

The number of cases that express the core ideas are calculated and results are expressed partially by the number of participants who experienced the phenomenon.

Findings are described by core ideas versus linear or hierarchical description.
CHAPTER 3

METHOD

In this section, a summary of the participants and the process of obtaining the participants are presented. Second, the ethical treatment of participants is discussed. Third, methods of validity and data collection are included. Fourth, a summary of data analysis procedure is provided. Glesne and Peshkin (1992) suggest that writing in the first-person singular matches the style of qualitative research; therefore, I will use first-person singular voice when discussing my own decisions and thoughts that evolved with this study.

Participants

Participants selected were those able to provide “information rich” experiences (Patton, 1990, p. 169). Rather than using a representative sample, a purposive sampling was used (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1990). Purposive sampling is used when studying a particular subgroup in depth. Consequently, I sought participants who were self-appointed car watchers in the area in and surrounding the town of Knysna, South Africa. Due to the fact that this subgroup is rather small in size, estimated from 15 to 40 people, there was no targeted age group
or sex of participant. However, given that there were no female car watchers present at the time I conducted my research, only male car watchers were interviewed. A total of ten car watchers were interviewed. Two of these car watchers were interviewed together while the remainder was interviewed alone. There were no car watchers that declined being a part of this research. There were two men that did not speak fluent Afrikaans or English; therefore, they were not able to take part in the study. One participant only spoke Xhosa. He asked if his friend could translate into Afrikaans to my research assistant. I agreed and compensated both men.

Participants were asked to complete an initial interview that lasted for approximately one hour. This interview permitted me to gather background information from each participant and to establish a relationship with the car watcher. It is important to note that the term “car watcher” is how they refer to themselves. It was not a label that I imposed. A follow-up interview was held approximately a week later so that I could review the transcribed interview and discuss any additional questions not covered in the initial interview. In addition, the participant was asked to reflect on any thoughts that may have emerged following the initial interview. Follow-up interviews, ranging from two to four, for each participant provided additional information for this study.

Also, at each of these interviews there was a research assistant present. This assistant acted as a silent observer and listened to the interview so that I could process
the information with him at a later date. He also served as a translator when the
participants chose to speak in the Afrikaans language. Further responsibilities of this
research assistant will be addressed when I discuss triangulation later in this section.

In order to compensate each participant for his time, I paid a fee and provided
them with a meal. Compensation for each interview was seventy South African rand
(approximately seven American dollars.) It is hard to describe how much this fee
represents in terms of a car watcher’s income. It fluctuates with the weather, tourist
seasons and location. Also, one car owner may choose to pay 50 cents, while others
may pay over 20 rand and others may pay nothing. I have talked to car watchers that
have made 10 rand on a day and others who averaged over 100 rand daily.

The interviews were conducted June through August of 2002 and then again
in December of 2002 (see appendix D for questions.) Generally, the site of the
interviews was the location that the participant had chosen to “car watch.” All
participants were informed that they could discontinue with the study at any time.

Prior to the initial interview, the research assistant spent time approaching
various car watchers in the Knysna area to assess who would be willing to participate
in the study (see appendix C for script). The research assistant also sought
recommendations for other people who fit the criteria for this study. This sampling
technique is known as the snowball or chain sampling technique (Patton, 1990).
During this initial approach, each potential participant was informed of the goals, method, and time commitment required for this study and also informed of the compensation offered for participation in the study.

Car watchers were sought out to represent many sections of Knysna. The car watchers were situated as follows:

- Two participants were located at the mouth of the Knysna lagoon in a parking lot overlooking the Indian Ocean.
- Four participants were at various locations at the Knysna Waterfront. The lagoon waterfront is noted as being a major tourist attraction in the area with a wide variety of shops and restaurants.
- One participant was located at Kwik Spar, a mini-market situated on the edge of Knysna.
- One participant was located at an upscale food and gift market.
- Two participants were located in downtown Knysna.

Demographics

All of the participants were formally unemployed and also represented a wide range in age from mid twenties to mid sixties. They were also old enough to have experienced the oppression of apartheid in South Africa as an adult. All participants were fluent in speaking the English, Afrikaans or Xhosan language (the later two with the aid of a translator.)
Procedure

The procedures of this study were reviewed and approved by the Behavioral and Social Sciences Human Subjects Committee at The Ohio State University. Due to varying English reading skills, a verbal agreement was recorded to gain consent of all of the participants. The research assistant was present to witness this consent and also to reiterate the agreement in the Afrikaans or Xhosan language, if necessary.

Methodological Note

Hill and associates (1997) stated that notes from the interviews are very helpful in understanding each participant. In order to increase the methodological rigor this study, I recorded four types of notes; (1) observational notes (see Appendix E), (2) methodological notes (see Appendix F), (3) theoretical notes (see Appendix G), and (4) personal notes (see Appendix H).

The observational notes recorded the setting, distractions, and nonverbal behavior of the interviewee. Methodological notes recorded problems with the equipment, logistics, and information to follow-up on during the second interview. Theoretical notes consisted of any themes or insights that I obtained from the interview. Lastly, the personal notes tracked my personal feelings about the interviewee that could potentially bias the data.
Strengthening the Credibility

On order for qualitative to be credible, Patton (1990) states “there is also a side to analysis that is analytically rigorous, mentally replicable, and explicitly systematic” (p. 462). The following procedures were utilized to strengthen this study’s rigor.

Triangulation

Patton (1990) defines triangulation as using a combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon or programs” (p. 187). By using different methods in a study to obtain more data from participants, researchers have several forms to support or challenge their findings (Hill et al., 1997, Patton 1990). In this study, I used several forms of triangulation: Reflections of the interview (data triangulation), member checks (data triangulation), external coders (investigator and theory triangulation), another interviewer (to examine interviewer bias), an auditor (who reviewed the codes and categories), and a stability check (additional interviews are conducted to test the stability of the codes).

Reflections From the Interview

At each subsequent interview, participants were asked to discuss any relevant thoughts that they did not discuss in the previous interview. I also explored any reflections that I had experienced with the participant.
External Coders

External coders were used to analyze the data. By using several coders, I attempted to eliminate possible bias by coding all of the data myself (Hill et al. 1997; Patton, 1990). I coded all of the interviews and two additional research colleagues also coded the interviews. These research colleagues were fellow doctoral students in the counseling psychology program. The first colleague, a fifth-year doctoral student, was a 27-year-old, female, European-American and the second colleague, a forth-year doctoral student, was a 33-year-old, male, European-American. The coders were instructed to highlight passages or words that stood out and provided a theme that summarized the meaning of the passage from the list of codes already generated. They were also permitted to create new themes if necessary.

Member Checks

Member checks not only serve as a form of triangulating the data, but also add to the process of the data collection. Reporting the exchange that takes place during the member check will enhance the data on the participants. By observing what issues the participants struggled with, I was able to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the individual. This procedure also ensures trustworthiness (Lincoln & Gruba, 1985) making sure the voice of the participant has been heard. To verify that I had accurately captured the experiences of the participants, each participant was asked to participate in a follow-up meeting to take place on my subsequent visit in December, 2002. During this meeting, I requested feedback regarding the accuracy
of the coding and transcription. The duration of this meeting was about an hour and
the participants received the same compensation as was provided for the prior
interviews, seventy rand and a meal.

Interviewer Bias

Hill, Thompson, and Williams (1997) discuss the benefits of having more than
one interviewer. “Having more than one interviewer helps reduce the possible effects
of interviewer style and bias” (Hill et al., 1997, p. 541). However, one advantage of
having one interviewer is consistency across interviews (Hill et al., 1997). I had my
silent observer change roles and conduct three interviews to examine the possibility of
interviewer bias. I trained this person on the techniques of interviewing.

Stability Check

After a majority of the interviews are conducted, I interviewed an additional
participant to examine the stability of the codes. Hill et al. (1997) argue that if an
additional case is completely different from previous cases, this suggests that findings
have not been stabilized” (1997, p. 553).

Data Collection

The Investigator

When conducting a qualitative study, it is important to acknowledge the
researcher’s influence on data collection (Patton, 1990). Patton (1990) states that the
researcher’s connection with the community, experience, training, and possible
positive or negative role in data collection should be discussed. Therefore, I have
included a description of my personal role as the researcher in the study below.
Being a gay man and experiencing oppression, I have a special interest in producing research focused on oppressed populations. I also am in the process of immigrating to South Africa; therefore, I also have an interest in increasing and improving the literature centered on the effects of oppression on the South African people. It is my hope that this current study is only the beginning of my contribution to South African research. Upon completion of this study, I will note further roles and influences that I personally had on this study.

As a European-American male, I realize that I may be perceived as a “wealthy American tourist” and this perception may have affected my interaction with the car watchers. Since I am not part of the car watcher community, some participants may not share as openly with me as they would with someone who may be a part of their community.

My research assistant was 30-year-old, white-Caucasian, native born South African. He interacts daily with the local black population and therefore gave me credibility as someone who could be trusted.

**Setting**

I interviewed the participants at the location where they car watch. This way, I could get an idea of the setting and interaction that they had with others on a daily basis. Of course, I inquired whether this was a comfortable setting for them. If they requested another location (which none did), I would have abided by their decision.
Interview Protocol

Initial Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted using a standard set of questions, but I freely responded to the interviewee’s comments and asked follow up questions. This plan gave me the freedom to delve deeper on certain questions when I felt it was necessary. (See Appendix D)

The questions in the interview centered on the background of their family, their experiences during apartheid, their motivation for car watching, and their perceived meaning to life. Each interview was tape recorded because the direct quotations of the participants served as the source of the data. Two tape recorders were be used to ensure recording if one tape recorder malfunctioned. However, no tape recorder malfunction occurred.

The follow up interviews were designed to ask questions that were missed on previous interviews or to expand on prior answers. Notes from the previous interviews were also used to design subsequent interviews. All participants were verbally debriefed at the close of the study (see appendix I for debriefing script.)

Data Management

Transcription

After each interview, the audiotapes were transcribed verbatim. I transcribed all of the interviews while I was in South Africa. After the interviews had been transcribed, the research assistant and I reviewed the transcripts with the tapes to
insure accuracy. There were minimal changes made, most of which were due to my difficulty in understanding the participants’ accents. These changes usually involved adjustments to demographic information.

Data Analysis

My research assistant and I located common themes and patterns regarding the motivation and life meaning of the Knysna car watchers. We then followed five stages used in qualitative research: (1) organize the data, (2) generate categories and patterns, (3) test hypotheses against the data, (4) generate alternative explanations, and (5) write up the findings (Marshall & Roshman, 1995).

When organizing the data, reading and rereading was necessary to become familiar with the data. Next, patterns and categories were generated that matched, expanded, and disregarded the initial areas of interest. The categories had both internal and external convergence, meaning the categories were consistent, yet distinct from one another, respectively (Marshall & Rossman, 1995).

After the categories and patterns were delineated, the hypotheses were tested. The data were explored to both confirm and to challenge the hypotheses. This information was then analyzed for consistency to examine if the participants provided consistent information and to examine whether the information addressed the questions of interest. Alternative explanations are provided in the discussion section and any further ideas and findings that emerge from the data will be addressed.
CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

In this chapter, I introduce the background of each of the 10 participants who participated in this study. Next, I address research questions and describe commonalities and contradictions across participants. In addition, I use the participants’ own words to illustrate various themes that emerged from the data.

Individual Profiles

Prior to each participant profile, I present a description of the setting where each interview took place. These setting descriptions will illustrate the diverse locations where car watching takes place and also how the environment of the car watcher affects the earnings of the car watcher. I also present a brief personal history of the participant to illustrate what events brought the car watcher to Knysna. In each profile, I paraphrase or use direct quotes from the interview data. In order to triangulate and enhance the credibility of the findings, each profile is followed by
information produced by the member check interviews. Finally, each participant chose the pseudonym used in their profile. For a summary of the demographic information please see Table 1 following the profiles.

The Hierarchy of Car Watching

Through the process of interviewing the car watchers, I soon came to realize that a hierarchy exists among members of the car watching community. I created the following terminology to describe the different levels of car watching: (a) formally employed car watcher; (b) informally employed car watcher; (c) municipality car watcher and (d) unofficial car watcher.

First, the most sought after car watching position is one of being “formally employed” by a business. These car watchers are paid employees of a business and earn a salary for watching over a business’s parking lot and also may receive tips from the car owners. The business owner also pays for the car watcher’s vest that is required by the municipality for being a car watcher. (The municipality requests that all car watchers wear vests. By wearing the vests, the car watchers will not be confused with others who may be loitering in the parking lots.) These paid positions are not very numerous. I estimate less then ten paid car watchers in Knysna.

The second sought after position is one of being “informally employed” by a business. These car watchers do not receive wages for car watching. They obtain
permission from business owners to station themselves in their parking lots. The business owner does supply them with their vest. These car watchers rely strictly on tips.

The next position is that of the “municipality car watcher”. These car watchers get permission from the municipality to car watch on city streets. The municipality supplies the vests, but pay no salary. This car watcher often provides an additional service of paying for the parking meter. A prepaid card is used to pay for the majority of the municipality parking meters. The car owner will reimburse the car watcher for the amount of time for the meter and also tip the car watcher.

The last position is that of the “unofficial car watcher”. These car watchers often do not have permission to car watch at their location. They wait until the official car watcher goes home and then takes his place. This usually occurs during weekends and after 4 or 5:00 p.m. weekdays. There are a few businesses that provide these unofficial car watchers with vests. These businesses are usually on the waterfront, and they encourage these unofficial car watchers since they tend to stay open late in the evening when cars are more vulnerable to theft and vandalism. Some unofficial car watchers also position themselves on city streets that are less traveled. The later mentioned car watchers do not wear vests and are subject to removal by municipality police.
Aaron

Interview Setting

Aaron is an unofficial car watcher at the waterfront. He works weekends and late nights and watches the parking lot with another man, Norman. They work after the daytime car watcher, Tollman, leaves. This location is a small parking lot behind the shops and restaurants. I estimated that there were approximately 75 parking spaces. This lot is not utilized as much as the lots near the main front entrance of the waterfront complex. I estimated that about every ten minutes during our interviews, we had to pause so that Aaron could service the car owners. A car owner would have to be familiar with the waterfront to be aware of this parking lot. Therefore, there were more local (from Knysna) car owners in this lot.

Background and Demographic Information

Aaron identified himself as a 29 year-old black male. He was raised in Ciskei, which has a large Xhosa population. (Ciskei was one of the homelands during apartheid.) Aaron is single and has no children. He attended school through standard four.

Aaron left Ciskei because he could not find work. He didn’t want to depend on his mother and father. He explained, “I am a man, I just want to work for myself.”
Aaron lives in White Location. He was noticeably embarrassed telling me about his home. When I asked him to describe his home. He replied, “It is nothing. I can’t tell you much. It has no water, no electricity, nothing. I live alone. I built my house. I live alone.”

Aaron’s parents and younger sister still live in Ciskei. His father is retired and supports his wife and daughter on his pension. Originally, his father labored in Port Elizabeth, which is the largest metropolitan city in the area—about two hours from Knysna. Aaron left his family two years ago when he came to Knysna to look for work. At the time, he thought that since Knysna was a tourist town, there would be more work there. He has not seen his family since he left home. He appears saddened when he tells me, “I haven’t seen them since I left home. I would like to see them more, but I can’t. I have no work, no way to get there.”

Car Watching Experience

Aaron reports that car watching is his only income. This is his second year of car watching. He comes to the waterfront to work during the day on Saturdays and after six on weekday nights. In the evening, he usually works until at least 10:00 p.m. He told me that the manager of the waterfront made arrangements with a taxi driver to take the car watchers home to the locations (townships) at night. (These taxis
transport most of the people from the different locations to town everyday. These taxis are overcrowded minivans that charge about 5 rand per person. They are primarily used by people who live in the locations.)

Aaron told me that he did not ask permission to car watch here. He came daily and became acquainted with Tollman, who car watches there during the day. Tollman talked with the manager and got a vest for Aaron.

When we began discussing the amount of money that he earned, Aaron appeared once again embarrassed. It was hard for him to maintain eye contact as he spoke about his money. He explained, “I do not make enough. But, I eat everyday. Yeah, I just buy food. I do this (car watching) so that I can find something to eat, and maybe if I have extra, I buy clothes.”

I asked Aaron what he likes about car watching. “There are no jobs. When I come home, I find something to eat. I only like that I can eat. People are sometimes not nice. Tourists treat better, when I park the cars.” (The phrase “park the cars” is often used instead of “car watch.” Car watchers also guide car owners pulling in and out of parking places.) He adds:

A number of cars from GP (Gauteng /Johannesburg) or Cape Town, they give me five rand or ten rand or four or two rand. But locals do
not pay. Locals are not too nice. They say, ‘I don’t need you to watch my car, it is fine.’ But if something happens to the car. They want me to tell them.

He tells me why he picked this site. “Here nobody knows me, so they don’t know what I do. I don’t like to park in town. People talk many things about you in town.”

*Home Life*

Looking at Aaron, I can tell that he takes pride in his appearance. His clothing is somewhat clean and nonwrinkled, his hair is neatly cropped to his head, and his teeth are white. I try to imagine his routine at home but soon realize that I have no idea. I ask Aaron to describe his home life to me:

After hours and off days, I just go home and enjoy friends. I also fetch water and wood too. I spend most of my time fetching water and wood. See, the tap is far from my house and I cannot carry much. It is no fun cleaning myself. I only have a bucket. In the winter it is cold. Up there (he points to the mountain) the wind blows through my walls. I have fire outside, we all do. We stay by the fire. There are so many for the wood. We have to walk far. The forest is getting far away.

We go away, people take, so we keep nothing. See, that is what I do at home.

I asked him if he has things that he likes to do for fun. He laughs and tells me, “no fun.” His smile quickly fades and he looks away.
Hopes for the future

Aaron found it difficult to discuss what hopes he has now that apartheid is over. He laughs and looks at the ground:

It is not easy to talk about that. You see, I am at this age and I struggle. I don’t have anything. I can’t say that there is anything that I am veteran of. Because when you are older, you must tell your child, ‘When I was younger, I was doing this and that.’ You know, to tell the stories to your child. I have no stories worth telling. But, I will be married and have children someday.” He stops and tells me that he does not wish to talk about the future anymore. “I work for today. I must buy food. Tomorrow is not important.

Theoretical field notes

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for Aaron’s interview: (a) the ambition to be self-sufficient; (b) the daily struggle to maintain basic needs; (c) the wish to maintain self-esteem; (d) the desire to have a family; (e) inability to pass valuable knowledge onto his children; (f) shame/embarrassment; (g) sacrificed education; (h) dissatisfaction with living conditions; (i) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities.

Member check

I returned to Aaron three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. I read the transcribed notes to him. He affirmed, “Yes, that is my words.”
He told me that there were no corrections. I also presented the nine themes that I thought emerged from the interviews. He agreed that they represented his foremost thoughts.

Norman

Interview Setting

Norman is an unofficial car watcher at the waterfront. He watches the parking lot with Aaron and together they work weekends and late nights after the daytime car watcher, Tollman, leaves. They equally share the money that they earn. Again this is the small parking lot behind the shops and restaurants of the waterfront and there were more local (from Knysna) car owners in this lot.

Demographics and background information

Norman is a 49-year-old male originally from Gramstown. He lives in White Location. His wife died of stomach cancer two years ago. He has a daughter who is married. She and her husband have two girls and live near the location. Norman has a girlfriend who lives with him now. His parents are also deceased. He attended school through standard four.

Car watching experience

Norman has been watching cars for about two years. Prior to car watching he was a switchboard operator. When he was laid off, he could find no other job, so he decided to become a car watcher. He and Aaron work limited hours and since they
share the money that they make, Norman claims to only make about 10 rand on
weeknights. On weekends he makes substantially more since he is there the entire
day. He talked about what he likes and dislikes about car watching:

I like it very much. If someone scratches a car and runs away, I take
my pen and write down the license number. Then he is very happy,
and he gives me five rand. I don’t like crime. I am against it.

But I don’t like some people are not nice and some don’t even say
thank you. They take the car and go away. Some say, ‘The car will
look after itself.’ So then if someone comes here and steals the wheel
caps or scratches the car, I am not responsible. You know, I get no
salary. I ask the people for money, telling them I am hungry. But if
he doesn’t want to give, then he doesn’t give.

Norman claims that people treat him differently, depending on where they are from.
He tells me that the local people tend not to pay him. He explains how the people
differ:

People from Knysna tell me that they are tired of paying. They are
upset that everywhere they take the car, they must pay. I think I
understand why they are mad. But you see, they are not suffering.

They should help. The people from other countries know. If you are
watching cars, then you need something. Those around here don’t
worry about you. But sometimes you get surprise you see. A car may
have CX on the license plate (Knysna license plates have the letters
CX on them), and you think it is local. But no, it is a rental and they will pay. So you see, you must ask everyone. The cars with CA (Cape Town) and GP (Gauteng) they will pay. See Knysna is not so bad. We do not have car stealing like the big cities. Local people don’t worry so much. But the people from Cape Town, Eastern Cape and places like that. They are on holiday so they don’t want to worry. At home they worry. But you see, during festival, bad people come from the city to steal. It is bad.

Norman explains that the vest that he wears is different from the day car watcher’s. It is to show that the day car watcher is in charge of the area.

Norman comes to work every day, even on rainy days. He explains that if he doesn’t work, then he doesn’t eat. When many car watchers stay home, Norman puts on his raincoat and goes to work. What he eats during the day depends on what he earns. He told me that the day before we met, he only made six rand. All he ate that day was chips and cool drink. (Cool drink is the term used for juice or soda.) He noted how it is more difficult to take care of himself now that he no longer works for a salary:

I feel bad sometimes. I have to ask my friends for food. That is not nice. My money is not steady. A man should take care of himself. You know. I feel bad when I can’t.

Norman believes that he differs from most car watchers. He makes it a point to talk with people and give them a smile. He tells them to enjoy their day and not to
worry. Norman tells me that he waits until the car owner returns to ask for money. He explains that many car watchers ask for the money first and then they do not stay and watch the cars.

*Home Life*

Norman lives in a home that he built himself. He tells me it is a “shack.” He has no water or electricity. He builds a fire to stay warm. He would like to move into a better house but cannot move until he finds better work. He spends most of his days gathering wood and fetching water. Norman tells me that he has no fun because there is no time for fun when you are suffering.

Norman’s life after apartheid is not much different. He tells me that people treat him the same. The only difference is that he can go where he wants now.

*Hopes for the Future*

Norman tells me that his life will stay the same until he turns 65. “I will get my pension at 65. I must just survive until then. But I get nothing until then.”

*Theoretical Field Notes*

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for Norman’s interview: (a) the daily struggle to maintain basic needs; (b) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities; (c) the desire to have a better home; (d) sacrificed education; (e) dissatisfaction with living conditions (f) inability to be self-sufficient.
Member Check

I returned to Norman three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. I read the transcribed notes to him. During this interview, he added information of how he was different from other car watchers. He agreed that the themes represented his foremost thoughts.

Tollman

Interview Setting

Tollman is the unofficial car watcher for that back parking lot of the waterfront (as described in Aaron and Norman’s profiles.) Aaron and Norman take over when he leaves between four and five in the afternoon.

Demographic and Background Information

Tollman was the car watcher who was most open to talk about his background. Tollman is a single 29 year-old Zulu male. He is from South Coast, Natal. His family still lives in Natal, the primary region for the Zulus. His parents are both alive but live separately. He has five brothers and two sisters. He attended school through standard seven. He currently lives in Nekkies location.

Tollman came to Knysna in 1990 because his sister was working there in a restaurant. She told him that work was better in Knysna than at home. Tollman came and worked building logs homes but soon found a job driving for a transport company in Durban. He wanted to move to Durban to be closer to his family. He lost his job
during a strike and then returned to Knysna in 1995 to work in the factory on Theisen Island until it closed in 2000. Theisen Island is located in the Knysna Lagoon just across a small channel from the waterfront.

Tollman reveals to me that he was jailed for nine months in 2000 for attempted murder of his girlfriend. His girlfriend reported him to the police after an argument that they had. After nine months of waiting for his trial, he was found not guilty of the charges. Tollman has four children, each having a different mother. He explains his situation to me:

I don’t like carrying on like this; but it is the girls who say, ‘If you won’t have a child with me, you don’t love me.’ I try to tell them ‘Let’s not have a child. Let’s try to build a future first before we have a child.’ But that doesn’t reason to the girls. They say, ‘No, see…you don’t love me.’

All of my children stay with their mothers. I have two in Natal with two different girls. I got one in Ciskei. I met her here in Knysna in 1992. She is black. And now I have another colored girl who has a girl who is six months now. The girl I have here lives with her family. Those out of town I see once a year. But I try to post them money. I try all my best. I have their account number and everything. I say I will try to help you with 200 rand a week. But that is all I have. I am unemployed.
Car Watching Experience

Tollman has been car watching for six months prior to our initial interview. He originally wanted to do security at the waterfront but realized that he actually would make more money car watching there. The management required having a police check before he could begin working there. He tells me they require all car watchers there to have police checks.

Tollman explains that he is responsible for this parking lot. The men that work there at night had to get his permission since he is in charge. Tollman works weekdays from about nine in the morning until half past four in the afternoon. During slow periods, he comes to work at eleven in the morning. He explains that the waterfront is busiest between noon and three in the afternoon. Tollman is sometimes satisfied with the amount of money he earns:

Well, I can’t say that it is enough. Some people give me one rand. Some give me two rand. Some give me ten rand. Some bring trailers and say, ‘Can you look after our trailer?’ And then they give me ten rand. So like now, it is a quiet time. I can make maybe sixty rand a day. That is when it is quiet like now. But when it is busy, like on holidays, it will be better. I can make 100 rand a day. Maybe for two weeks time, then they go and I am back to 50 rand a day. When it rains, I don’t get money. I don’t come when it rains. I wait. Well, sometimes I come and stay under the shelter and wait. Wintertime is a problem. It is very cold and wind blows and no one comes because
here on the waterfront is very windy. But our problem is the rain.

When you see on T.V. it is going to rain, then you know you will have nothing. It is a problem.

Tollman is not sure if he likes car watching. Sometimes the people are not very nice to him. He tells me that most of the tourist pay him and will often stop to chat. Even if they are at the waterfront everyday, they will pay him. He tells me the local people do not often pay.

He says his main concern with car watching is the fact that he has no salary. If he had a salary, he would not have to worry about the weather and the slow periods. He likes the fact that he meets new people every day and learns a lot about other places. He would just like to know that he has a steady income.

Tollman feels that he is like most car watchers. However, one difference that he pointed out is that the car watchers in town tend to beg for money. Tollman does not want to ask for money. He tells me that he is a proud independent man.

Home life

Tollman lives in the township (location) with a couple. The man that lives with Tollman is also a car watcher. The woman does not work. They built the house themselves. They have to walk to the tap to get water but they do have electricity. He explains how the electric system works:

We buy the boxes. The municipality puts it in our houses, and you have a card that you pay five rand and lasts you for about three weeks. Sometimes two weeks. It depends. I bought us an electric heater, so
in winter we pay more. If you are a family, then you use more. We
have three staying, so we take turns buying electricity. We have each
other to do things.

When Tollman is not working he likes to exercise. He has an orange belt in karate.
He would like to be able to go to a gym. At home, he uses weights that he made. He
tells me:

I would like to be a sportsman. To do something to live a long life. I
like to feel that I am a sportsman. But I have no one to guide me and
support me. I think now would like to do boxing.

Apartheid

Tollman was the only car watcher that would talk in detail about apartheid.
He explains how different things are post-apartheid:

I don’t see a change these days. It gets worse. The suffering now. So
many people have no jobs. Not only here, but all over South Africa.
Johannesburg and everywhere, people are losing jobs. I don’t know
why. When the black president took over, he promised us more jobs
and that things would get easier. But I don’t see it. Now things are
tougher, more than before. My home is better now though. Because
before there was no electricity. There were no streets, no lights in the
township and a lot of people have (cement) block houses, but not all of
us. We think it will get better.
He also told me about how the people have changed:

It is different. As I see now, when the cars come I go and greet them. They talk nicely to me. Before, I remember it was very tough. We were scared of the white guy. You couldn’t just go and greet, you see. So that is how it is better. Now I don’t have to be afraid. I know he won’t do me nothing. He can’t do anything. I can go and report him. Those days, it was not easy for a black guy to report a white guy. That is how it is different then before.

A lot of things change. But a lot of us don’t see it. I talk to the guys, they are very nice. Other people also ask me what do I think now that the black president took over. I tell them it is different; but a lot of people are losing jobs. That is the main thing all over South Africa. But those days when there was a white president, there were a lot of jobs, even in the townships. Cars would come and look for guys for work, but now you see in town there are a lot of people without work. But it is not blacks alone. There are a lot of whites. All over. I can’t say it is just blacks.

Tollman explains that the townships are much safer now. Now, white people come to the townships. He adds:

We all drink together and talk. Before you wouldn’t see white people in the township. I like it now, You can talk about what is right and what is wrong so you can choose which way is right for you.
Hopes for the Future

Tollman wants to find a better job with a salary. He has a license to drive a forklift from his days in the factory. He does not have a driver’s license. He is currently trying to save money to get a driver’s license. He would like to go to transport driving school, but it costs 1500 rand a week to go.

Tollman would like to have a family some day. He talks of having a wife and children who all live in the same house. He also has dreams of owning a business.

I am the type of guy who likes to help people. We all must help those who suffer. I would like to own a supermarket. Like the old people that doesn’t work, I would like to help those who get pension. I would like to buy them some food and some meat and I will wait until the end of the month when they get their pension, you see. So they pay when they get their pension. That is what I would like to do, you see.

Theoretical Field Notes

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for Tollman’s interview: (a) the ambition to be self-sufficient; (b) the daily struggle to maintain basic needs; (c) the wish to help those who suffer; (d) the desire to have a family; (e) the wish to better provide for his children; (f) sacrificed education; (g) dissatisfaction with living conditions; (h) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities.
Member Check

I returned to Tollman three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. I read the transcribed notes to him. He told me that there were no corrections. I also presented the eight themes that I thought emerged from the interviews. He agreed that they represented his foremost thoughts.

Amos

Interview Setting

Amos was located on a side street, one block from the main road. The area was mostly residential and received the overflow from the major city streets. He had no vest and admitted that he was not supposed to be car watching there. Amos also would ask people walking by him for money. Amos only spoke Xhosa fluently. My research assistant performed this interview in Afrikaans. We asked Amos’ friend, Gladman, who only spoke Afrikaans and Xhosa, to translate from Xhosa to Afrikaans. (They both were compensated equally.) There were also two other men present that appeared intoxicated. They were also asking passersby for money. They were not part of the interview.

Background and Demographic Information.

Amos told us that he was 37 years old and that he was born in 1963. (Which would actually make him 39.) He was raised in King Williamstown and attended school until standard six. He now lives at Nekkies location. Amos is married, but he lives alone. Amos tells us that he has a wife in King Williamstown and a child. He also has a girlfriend who stays with him on occasion. He does not see his wife or
child very much because he cannot give them any money. Amos seems embarrassed as he tells us, “I do not go there. I struggle. I have nothing to give. I only take care of me.” His wife lives with her family and they take care of her.

The rest of his family still lives in King Williamstown. He tells us that he has many people in his family. He explains that his family and his uncle’s family live together. He claims that he doesn’t know how many people there are. Amos has four brothers. He smiles and tells us, “One brother is in standard 10 and the other three are at university studying biology.” Amos tells us that his mother is passed away, and his father lives with his uncle. He claims to see his brothers a lot, but he does not have a good relationship with them. Amos would like to be closer to his family; but he would like to live alone. He does not want to depend on his family.

When asked to describe his home, Amos smiles, “It’s dirty. It is a wooden house that I build from scraps. Dirty house. I have nothing but the place. I love my house. I live there four years.” He also has no water or electricity. He told us how he searched for discarded wood to build his home.

_Car Watching Experience_

Amos does not work fulltime as a car watcher. He car watches only when he cannot get casual work. Each day, he goes to the main road in Knysna and stands with the other men that are looking for casual work. Amos claims to get a casual job about once a week. The remainder of the days he watches cars and panhandles.
(People that have labor jobs that need to be done will stop and offer jobs to men. This work may be at a business or at a private home. It is not steady work and each man has to fend for himself. On many occasions, I have seen a pickup truck stop and men swarm around it and only one or two men are chosen.)

Amos explains why he began car watching:

Because I didn’t want to suffer—my stomach. I didn’t want to have to steal. I was hungry. Before, I did plastering and tiles and brickwork. I also did cleaning at Edgar’s (a department store.) But now there is no work. I want to do brick work most. I don’t like watching cars, because I am hungry.” He goes on to explain that he is hungry because he does not make very much money watching cars. “Maybe they give me 10 or 20 cents. I say thank you. One rand, I say thank you. That is not much to eat from. I don’t want to go steal.

The police often chase Amos away from his post. He explains, “They chase me away because they think that I am going break into the cars. I have no vest you see. The municipality only gives out a small number.”

Amos says that car watching is difficult for him. The local people will not pay him and the tourists are often afraid of him because he has no vest. He makes most of his money from his casual work. When the weather is bad, he cannot get casual work, and there are not many tourists. He tells us that when he does not work, he does not eat. “I had nothing this week before you came to me. I sit at home. No food.” Amos told us a story about a time when he was taken advantage of:
It happens too much you see. One time, you see this meter? (He points to a parking meter.) I bought a ticket to pay the meter. A guy from Cape Town said the he would be gone for two hours. I paid the meter until he came back. But when he came back, it was five hours. He doesn’t want to pay me for the extra hours. That extra money cost me. Less food for me and he is eating good food. It happens you see. People don’t care that I suffer.

Home Life

Amos clearly states that he has no free time. When I asked him what he does when he is not working, he explains, “I always look for work. I try to work everyday. As I walk home, I see if there is a problem there. I can fix it for them.” He explains how he keeps an eye open for odd jobs that might be available. Some homeowner may need shrubs trimmed or a fence mended. He will look for odd jobs that need to be done and he will offer his services. Most often, he admits he gets turned down. He tells me that when he does have downtime, he just enjoys being with friends, sitting by the fire and telling stories of their day.

Hopes for the Future

Amos would like to have his own farm raising chickens and pigs. He has also thought about working in the mines. I tried to get him to talk about life after apartheid and if he felt his life was better. He would only say,
Things not better. No work. We are still suffering. As least during apartheid, we could find something to do. Now nothing. That is all I have to say about that. We are still suffering like before.

He also told me about his worries about growing old.

When I am sick, I go to the clinic, not the doctor. You have to pay doctor, not clinic. If I have to go to hospital, I can’t pay. Of course, I worry.

Theoretical Field Notes

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for Amos’ interview: (a) the ambition to be self-sufficient; (b) struggle to maintain basic needs; (c) the wish to maintain self-esteem; (d) worries about aging and health care; (e) embarrassment; (f) sacrificed education; (g) lack of respect from car owners; (h) dissatisfaction with living conditions; (i) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities.

Member Check

I returned to Amos three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. I read the transcribed notes to him. He admitted that he could not remember what he had said; however, he reported “That is my story, what you say is true.” He did add that he no longer wants to work in the mines. He claimed that he is too old for such work now. I explained that I saw four main things that he was
concerned about. He said that was true but could not understand what I meant about self-esteem. I explained that self-esteem is how you feel about yourself. Amos explained, “eating is more important than pride.”

Andrew and Donovan

Interview Setting

Andrew and Donovan wished to be interviewed together. They work together at the lookout point at the top of the Knysna heads. (At the opening of the lagoon, there are two large hills on each side of the Knysna River as it empties into the Indian Ocean. These hills are called ‘heads’.) The eastern head is covered with residential streets that wind up the head showcasing expensive homes. After winding through these streets, there is a parking lot at the top of the head. Tourists park at this lot and then go to the cliff walk that overlooks the Indian Ocean and nature park on the western head.

When I met with Andrew and Donovan, there were usually only seven to ten cars there at any given time. The car owners would be away from the cars for about 15 minutes. The majority of these people did not pay the car watchers.

Andrew and Donovan are “unofficial” car watchers. They are only permitted to be there on weekends and weekday evenings. They do not wear vests. There is a man assigned to be there on weekdays. During the short winter days, they only have an hour of daylight to car watch on weekdays. They have worked there together for approximately 13 years.
Andrew is 37 years of age. (When I first saw Andrew, I thought he was in his fifties. He is very thin, and his skin is leathered like that of an older man.) His family lives in Cape Town and Johannesburg. He is not sure where they live.

I didn’t live with my family, always on my own. In the first place, we are four brothers and we fight and my mother threw us out. So I moved to Cape Town, Bloenfontaine, Joburg…all of those places.

Andrew did not go to school. He became very serious when he began talking about school.

Listen here. The matric means nothing to our people. It’s no use. I did not want to go to school. School means nothing for you. Listen here. I go to matric but there is no work. There is nothing for them.

Andrew lives in Hornlee. Originally, Hornlee was known as the “coloured” township. During apartheid, the colored people were considered to have slightly more rights than the blacks. Therefore, their township had better housing than the black townships. The majority of the homes have electricity and water. Andrew built his own house there, which is similar to the homes at the black townships. He currently is staying with a friend because the municipality bulldozed his house one day while he was away. Donovan explains Andrews’s situation:

He was staying on his own. He was the only squatter in Hornlee.

Then the community, they rebuild houses and the municipality came and bulldozed his shack while he was away. Now he has to stay with
his friend. He was staying in that shack for more than 15 years and all
the people knew about him. Nobody cared. They just came and
bulldozed his house with all of his things inside.

Donovan is 30 years of age. He lives in the squatter camp. He moved out of
his mother’s house and currently lives with his brother in a house that they built from
scrap wood. His brother also has a son that lives with them. The rest of his family
lives together in Hornlee. He felt it necessary to move out because the house was too
crowded with kids. His home has no water or electricity. He says all he has for light
is a candle.

Donovan attended school through standard five and then started working. He
does not see his family very often. He explains:

Communication is not good. I was raised without my father. At a
young age, my father moved out of the house and my mother cared for
us. When I was 14, I went out to work for my mother. I moved out of
the house when I started to work so my mother did not have to worry
for me. I went hitchhiking to Cape Town and stayed with family
there. Then I came back and got casual work and until this day I
survived like that.

Car Watching Experience

Andrew insists that he is one of the initial people that organized car watching:
I was the first guy in Knysna that organized (the car watching) because
work is a problem here. The police know about us and the traffic
(police) knows about us and they can do nothing here because I am the guy that organized it. I was the first parking attendant here. First, I was down below (at the restaurant and beach) and then they started making trouble and moved me here. You see, we are here for 13 years. The cops fight us, but they know we are together. But you see, some friends come and take (steal) from the people so I am here to chase them away. You must watch for naughty guys like that. So I start telling the people to have a relaxing time and go see the heads and their car will be safe when they come back. While they go, I clean their windshields, the salt.

Donovan claims that he has been car watching here for seven, eight or nine years. He joined Andrew when he moved to the top of the heads. He and Andrew were both here during the apartheid years. Donovan describes car watching during apartheid.

It was very different. If it was still apartheid, then going into the white man’s area they would call the police and say they saw blacks in this area. We would run away then. Now they know why we are here and everyday looking for survival. Because if you have no survival what do you do at the end of the day? Who is going to feed you? I mean the welfare, they can’t feed all of the people.

Andrew and Donovan make an effort to treat all of the people who come there the same. They greet the car owners and give them directions if they need them.
Donovan estimates that four out of every seven cars will pay something, usually a couple rand. They admit that some people are rude to them. Andrew gives an example of how they are treated.

You get some good people, and you get some bad people. Like you are good, some say ‘hi’. Like that person that just came up after you, he said, ‘The car can look after itself.’ But say someone comes and scratch his car, he blames us.

Donovan adds, “So if another car bumps into their car they become nice and say, ‘What happened to our car?’ You see, then the communication is different.” As I talk with them, I notice that only a couple of car owners pay them two rand. Most ignore them as they walk by. One man walked by and yelled, “Everywhere I go, I must pay! I must pay! I must pay!” He didn’t pay Andrew and Donovan.

During one meeting, I kept count of the money that Andrew and Donovan made. In three hours, they made a total of 20 rand. They were content because they could each buy food for one meal that day.

Donovan told me about another man, Charles, who sometimes comes with them. Often they have to tell him to go home because he is not clean. Donovan explains that it is important to be clean and well groomed for the people. “If I stand close to you, you shouldn’t smell me.” I found it difficult to stand close to them due to the body odor. This demonstrated the differences in our cultures.
They both believed that car watching is a necessity. They felt that they are providing a much-needed service, especially at their isolated location. Donovan talks about the risks to the cars:

It is very important because you get guys from the city that want to come down to Knysna and steal. Like last time at Oyster Festival, ten caravans, five jet skis, and six boats were stolen down in Knysna.

Andrew tells me that car watchers are desperately trying to survive without stealing. The guy (car watcher) is there to make an honest living without stealing. That is why people are in the car park, because they can’t get work. Some go fishing to sell the fish. Some can get casual work. Some of us have different ideas of what we can do. We want to be proud that we don’t steal.

They also claim that the municipality will not give them vests for car watching at this location, even though they have been there for years. Another man asked for the vest first. So now they have to wait until he goes home. They would like to work in town but the competition for the positions causes them too much stress. The car watchers in town have been there for years. As soon as one leaves, which is rare, another man immediately takes his place. If a car watcher knows he is leaving, he will usually offer his position to someone he knows. If a position becomes vacant without notice, men will usually fight over the position.
Home Life

Both Andrew and Donovan talk of just living day to day. Each day, they hope to make enough money to eat the following day. They both spend their days fetching water and wood. They also have to walk about an hour to and from work each day. Donovan likes to make crafts when he can find materials. Both Andrew and Donovan spend time together with their friends, often sharing their food. Most of the time, it is late when they get home.

They worry about the winters. The days are very short and it rains often. In June, many times they do not come to car watch because they only have an hour of light after the day car watcher leaves. During this time, they help people in the neighborhood with odd jobs in exchange for food. During the winter days, they spend their time looking for work.

Hopes for the Future

Andrew is satisfied with being a car watcher. He has no hopes to do anything else. He says he doesn’t care what he does for work as long as he can eat. He expressed a concern about growing old and getting sick more often. “As a young man, I never got sick. But now I often don’t feel so good. What will I do when I cannot work? And old men cannot take the weather you know.”

Donovan would like to do carpentry. But he has no means to pay for the training. He also would like to paint and do basic handyman work. Donovan has little hope that things will change.
But you see the problem is the unemployment number is so high because most of the black countries live in poverty and now most of them fled to places where there is more work. It’s like we will work for 40 rand a day and they come and will work for 25 rand a day. That is what the difference is. Because if you go and work, they say no. But a black man (immigrant) doesn’t know the rate so they get work. They come and live in the squatter shacks. It’s like living for free, like I stay here. They may make 5 rand at home. Here they make 25 rand and live free, only food. Then they bring their family, and it gets overcrowded. New squatter camps are coming up and we get no work. It is an immigration problem, but in the first place, there wasn’t things like that. You know, at least during apartheid we could get work. Nobody wanted to come here then. Also, new people that come to build here, they bring their own builders so we can’t work.

Theoretical field notes

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for both Andrew and Donovan’s interview: (a) the ambition to be self-sufficient; (b) the daily struggle to maintain basic needs; (c) the wish to maintain self-esteem; (d) the struggle to support themselves during the winter months; (e) sacrificed education (f) dissatisfaction with living conditions (g) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities (h) lack of respect from car owners. Andrew added a
concern about health issues and how he worries about getting old and not being able to work. He also realizes that he has no means to pay for doctor visits or hospitalization.

Member Check

I returned to Andrew and Donovan three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. I read the transcribed notes to them. They both told me that there were no corrections.

David

Interview Setting

David is a car watcher that is formally employed by Kwik Spar. He earns a salary and receives tips from car owners. Kwik Spar is a convenient store that is a smaller version of the Kwik Spar grocery store chain. This Kwik Spar was located on the eastern outskirts of Knynsa. It is located on a busy intersection, which leads to many residential neighborhoods and the only road out to the homes of the eastern head. It is open later than the two grocery stores in town so it has a substantial evening business. The intersection is very loud so we struggle to hear one another. David also has to stop the interviews frequently to assist the car owners.

Background and Demographic Information

David is a married father of four children. He is 36 years of age and lives in the township Dam Se Bos. He attended school through standard four. He does not live with his wife and children. He explains:
My wife wants a divorce from me. I stay with friends. My family is not here, so my father and mother cannot help me with a place. They live Port Elizabeth. All my money goes to my children. I am just paying for the children. I have no money for me, so I stay with friends. My wife doesn’t want me, just my money and my children.

He met his friends when he moved to Knysna from Port Elizabeth. They live in one of houses built by the government. It is a township house, one room made of cement block with a toilet and a sink. They built onto the house with scrap wood to make it larger. He has stayed with his friends for six months and is looking for his own place.

Originally, David was a shelf packer in Kwik Spar until they moved him to the parking lot. Prior to working at Kwik Spar, he was an ice cream mixer at Pic n Pay grocery store. He came to Kwik Spar because it was closer to his family and he thought that he would make more money for his children.

*Car Watching Experience*

David has been a car watcher for four months. When I asked him if he enjoyed car watching, he replied. “No. I don’t think it is important. I don’t like it. All of the people here, I ask for jobs.”

David claims that most of the people who park there treat him well. He does note that tourists treat him better. For instance, he reports that people from Cape Town or Port Elizabeth give him better tips and do not yell at him. I noted on several occasions men would yell at him to stay away from their car. Only a few people, I
estimate one in 12, give David a tip. I am assuming because most of the people only leave their car for a few minutes. Even David admits, that their cars would be okay without him watching them. David would like to be doing other work that is more satisfying. When I ask him what type of work makes him happy, he responds:

I will do anything. But I want to know my work is needed. I have done painting, garden work, you know, casual work. I like that. They need me for that. I also worked in the garden house (greenhouse) planting vegetable. See important work that must be done. I also like the supermarkets, packing the shelves and keeping them clean. See here what I do, they don’t need me. I just make them look good, that they are safe. I do not make enough money. Only for my children, nothing left for me. I suffer.

Home Life

David claims to spend his leisure time looking for work. He does have a television and watches it during the night and on days of inclement weather. He admits to having no friends. “I do not worry for friends, I stay at home and do nothing, I am not proud.” He claims that work is harder to find now that apartheid is over. He believes that he is treated better and that work conditions are better; however, work is much harder to find.
Hopes for the Future

David tells me that he does not think about the future. He couldn’t say if he believed his life would be better when he is older. He noted three major concerns: caring for his children, finding a decent home, and falling ill:

I am working for my children. Support them better and get better house. I don’t know anything else I want. That is just what I want. I also must not get sick because I don’t get my salary when I am sick.

Theoretical Field Notes

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for David’s interview: (a) dissatisfaction with living conditions (b) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities; (c) health concerns; (d) the overall struggle to support his children; (e) sacrificed education.

Member Check

I returned to find David three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. He was no longer at Kwik Spar, and nobody knew of his whereabouts. He just did not show for work one day.

Ivan

Interview Setting

MacIntosh Fruit and Vegetables formally employed Ivan. MacIntosh is an upscale food market located between downtown Knysna and the waterfront. The market is located in a renovated building that also houses other small shops such as a framing shop, an upscale lawn furniture store, and law offices. He is formally
employed by MacIntosh, thus earning a salary and receiving tips. The parking lot is a string of spots located along the quiet side street. When we met, there were at most ten cars in the parking lot at one time. The atmosphere was quite unhurried and peaceful.

*Demographics and Background Information*

Ivan is a single 35-year-old man. He lives in Hornlee and stays with his parents. He attended school through standard 4. There are 13 family members living in the home. His parents are retired and Ivan and his brother are the only members of the family who work. His brother works at a wood factory. Ivan has never been married but he once had a serious relationship when he was in Cape Town in the army. They were together for a long time but had no children. He told me the relationship has a hurtful ending.

Ivan was also in the army, so he gets money each month from the army. Prior to car watching, Ivan was a salesman in a clothing store. He left because the money and the hours were not very good.

Of all the car watchers that I interviewed, Ivan was the best groomed. He wore a neatly ironed uniform everyday. Ivan attended school through standard nine; however, he did not speak English fluently. My research assistant performed the interview in Afrikaans.

*Car Watching Experience*

Ivan has been a car watcher for about four months. He heard about the position from friends. He tells me that he is proud to be a car watcher. “If I am not
here, the people will break into the cars. I was not here once, and they broke into the
car. People in Knysna are very good to me.” Ivan also tells me that the tourists tip
him much more than the local people. Ivan feels lucky to have this job. He realizes
that most car watchers do not have such a good position.

As I watch Ivan, I see how he enjoys his work. While most car watchers
quietly stand and look over the cars, Ivan routinely interacts with the shoppers. He
helps the shoppers carry their packages to the car and engages in small talk. This is
the only location that I witnessed such a colloquial relationship between the car
watcher and car owner. It is also the only location where the majority of the car
owners tipped the car watcher. Ivan did note that the tourists tipped substantially
more than the local clientele even though he interacted with both in the same manner.

Ivan notes that his life is much different from most car watchers. He does not
have the worries that most car watchers do. He earns a salary year round. He is not
dependent on good weather. Even when it rains he works and can stand in the shelter
of MacIntosh.

Home Life

Ivan enjoys his home life. He is satisfied with his house but informs me that
it is a little wet since it is located near a wetland. He would like the hose to be bigger
due to all of the people. He also tells me that his mother has a bad leg, so he would
like to have a toilet near her room so that she didn’t have to walk to the back of the
house for the toilet.
Ivan claims to be “a man of music.” He plays bass guitar and drums. He spends much of his leisure time playing music. He also has a friend who owns a shop, so he also helps him with security there. He spends a lot of time with his friends and family. He tells me he has a happy life.

Ivan reports that his life is about the same as it was during apartheid. He does admit being disappointed in the ANC. “They promised if we voted for them, they would fix our houses. But now I don’t see it. Our houses should be better.”

*Hopes for the Future*

One day, Ivan would like to work in Cape Town or Mossel bay, working again as a salesperson in a clothing store. He feels it is important to have a family. Ivan does not worry about finding better work. He likes what he is doing. He told me, “I will probably still watch cars for a long time. But if I find different work that I like, I will take it.”

*Theoretical Field Notes*

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for Ivan’s interview: (a) dissatisfaction with living condition; (b) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities; (c) the satisfaction of having a happy home life; (d) the need to support his family; (e) struggle to maintain basic needs.

*Member Check*

I returned to Ivan three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. My research assistant reviewed the transcribed noted with him. Ivan agreed the information was correct, however, he noted that the interview made him
sound much happier than he is. He noted that life is still not good for colored people and still worse for the blacks. He explained that it is his custom not to complain to people.

Mandla

Interview Setting

Mandla is located at one of the busy main lots near the main entrance of the waterfront shopping center. We met with Mandla in the morning before the waterfront became too busy for us to talk. Mandla is in the first overflow lot that gets utilized after the main lot is full. There are an estimated 150 parking spots in Mandla’s area. This location is also heavily used for the clientele of the Outeniqua Choo Tjoe scenic train ride that leaves each morning for George, South Africa. After the 9:00 a.m. rush for the train, we had over an hour to talk before the waterfront started to get busy. After 11:00 a.m. this parking lot would be much too busy to try to talk with Mandla.

Demographics and Background Information

Mandla is a 32 year-old single male. He attended school until standard ten. He did not take his matric exam. Mandla currently lives with his parents and his brother in White location. He has a sister who is married and lives in the same location. Mandla tells me that he does not have a girlfriend and has no children.

Mandla’s family is from Ciskei and they have been in Knysna since he was young. Along with his father’s pension, Mandla and his brother support the family. His brother works at MacIntosh Fruit and Vegetables.
Car Watching Experience

Mandla is informally employed by the management of the waterfront. He earns no salary; however, the waterfront management gave him permission to work there and also supplied him with his vest. Mandla has been car watching for two years. He talks about the struggle of being a car watcher:

It is hard you know. People do not feel that they should pay for us to watch the cars. I work from seven or eight in the morning until nine at night. I eat one meal from home…rice and beans. I am always hungry. When I go home, I eat rice, potatoes, and fish.

When the rain comes, I make no money. So I work long hours when I can. I get up and take the taxi to town then walk here. Then I go home and sleep and do it again tomorrow. It is no fun to be here. I struggle at slow times.

Mandla does not come to work when the weather is bad. He tells me that it is not worth the trip. Although he does not make more money than the others, he is one of the few car watchers who has a bank account. He tells me that he draws out money during the slow season. On a good day, he may make well over one hundred rand; but slow days he may only make twenty rand. Even if it is a slow day, all the car watchers split the territory. They do change their position in the parking lot, so each of them has the opportunity to spend a day in the main parking lot. However, if the weather is bad on the day they are in the main lot, they have a very dismal week.
As I observed Mandla, I see most people ignore him. Even without the tip, Mandla directs them out of the parking space never asking for money. When he does get a tip, he shows it to me. Usually he is given one or two rand. He explains to me that he does not ask for money. He just holds out his hand. He admits that only a few do pay him. Mandla also talked to me about some children who were also watching him in the distance. He seems to have taken some responsibility for them:

See these children? (He points to three young children sitting at the back of the parking lot.) I give them my food. They have no one. They breathe glue for the hunger. (Many children walk the streets with containers of glue. I have been told it stops the hunger when they sniff it.) It is bad. I gave them food once, and now they are always here with me. If I don’t feed them, they will steal. At night, they sleep on the streets. Sometimes men get them to beg and then take the money from them.

Home Life

Mandla is not happy that he lives with his parents. He feels that a grown man should be independent. He would like to build his own home, but feels that he needs to watch over his parents. Their home is made out of scrap wood and Mandla fears that someone will come and harm his parents. He claims that life is better after apartheid because they now have electricity and water in the locations, although they
do have to walk a distance to the water tap. He was not able to find work during apartheid, but he claims that is no different from the present. His father was employed during apartheid working on a milli farm.

*Hopes for the Future*

Mandla hopes to one day own a home. He told me that he is more concerned about being independent than he is having a family. He does not think of a family now. He would like to become an auto mechanic but has no idea of how he might get the training to do so. He does not see life changing much for him. He will car watch until he finds something better.

*Theoretical Field Notes*

Three independent rater’s evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for Mandla’s interview: (a) dissatisfaction with living conditions (b) dissatisfaction with employment opportunities; (c) the desire to maintain basic needs (d) feeling responsible to care for his parents (e) sacrificed education (f) little hope for change (g) desire to be self-sufficient.

*Member Check*

I returned to Mandla three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. I read the transcribed notes to him. He agreed that the notes were accurate. He wanted me to be sure to note that the children that he spoke of were not his. He is proud that he has no children that suffer.
Jolly Jumper

Interview Setting

Jolly Jumper is an informal car watcher for the Featherbed Nature Reserve. Featherbed has daily excursions via a charter boat from the waterfront to the nature reserve on the western head. Jolly Jumper watches the cars while the tourists go on the day trip to the reserve. There are approximately 75 cars in the parking lot. This location is located about a quarter of a mile east of the waterfront complex. This area is located off a secondary road that leads to the waterfront. It is a relatively quiet area. There is a small trailer beside the parking lot that sells tickets for the excursion. There is a small marina on the west side of the parking lot and an apartment complex on the east side.

Demographics and Background Information

Jolly Jumper is a 66-year-old man from Namibia. He has a wife and three children who still live in Namibia. One son is still a child, and the other son and daughter are adults. Jolly Jumper informs me that he lives in Hornlee. “Where the colored people stay. A housing development, not a township.” He went to school through standard six. He speaks four languages: English, Xhosa, Afrikaans, and Zulu. Jolly Jumper tells me that his son is planning on coming to help him with the car watching soon.

Jolly came to Knysna with the gospel ministries of his church. They came to South Africa to “preach the gospel.” He decided to come to Knysna after seeing a television program about the Featherbed Nature Reserve. It was then that he decided
that Knysna would be a good place to stay. He tells me that most of the men stayed in Cape Town and he came to Knysna alone. His family stays in Namibia and is supported by the church.

Prior to coming to Knsyna, Jolly Jumper made furniture in a factory in Namibia. He tells me, “I left the furniture because of the precious souls that are lost. I wanted to help the souls. More important to preach the gospel.” When he is not working, Jolly Jumper goes door to door preaching the gospel.

**Car Watching Experience**

Jolly Jumper has been car watching for just under a year. He approached the management of Featherbed and told them that he would like to watch over the cars. They agreed. Jolly Jumper bought his own vest and a nametag for car watching. While most car watchers’ vests are yellow nylon, Jolly Jumper wears a very nice tan safari vest with many pockets. Jolly Jumper is also proud that the management trusted him with the keys to the toilets on the weekend.

He expressed that he loves his job. He feels that it gives him an education because he talks with people from around the world. He tells me that tourist will pay him anywhere from ten to one hundred rand for watching the car for the day. He remembers one man gave him 200 rand for four hours. He adds, only the local people treat him bad.

Jolly Jumper expects to be paid in bills (10 rand and up.) He educated me on the concept of “brown money.” In South Africa, brown money is all coins under one
rand. One rand and five rand are silver coins, ten rand and above are paper bills. Jolly Jumper tells me that the brown money is “worthless.” He feels that it is an insult to give him brown money.

Jolly Jumper works every day, including Sundays. When it rains, the excursions are usually cancelled so he has days off then. He always comes to the office to see if the excursions are cancelled.

He explains why he likes car watching.

It is a very nice job and the clothes do not get dirty and I do not have to work with a pick and shovel. You use your brains and work with your brain. It is a very important job. When I was not here, there is a mix-up. Everyone will do what they want, very bad. With discipline and respect and with showing them, I can organize the parking. Before they did not park right and there was not room for everyone. Also, since I was here, there are no cars damaged or broken into.

This job is very good for me. It doesn’t break the body down or make me tired. I always feel good inside. Some people may feel this is not an important job, but I feel it is. The people in the office have no time to do this. They don’t worry because they know I will take care of this. I help and see many people. I love it very much.

Jolly Jumper feels that he is quite different from the other car watchers. He believes that most of the car watchers in town spend their money on drugs and alcohol. He
Jolly Jumper’s son is expected to come help him with the car watching. He tells me that there are too many cars that come at once for him to park. Also, he is so busy that many drive off without paying him. His son will help him park the cars and collect the money. He also hopes that his son will come and help him keep claim on his territory. He tells me that on occasion a man will come and try to work in his parking lot. On one occasion Jolly Jumper threw a man into the lagoon because he wouldn’t leave.

Home Life

Jolly Jumper pays rent for an apartment in Hornlee. He wants me to be sure to note that he “does not live in the townships like the blacks.” In the evenings, he goes door to door preaching about the Bible. His family lives in a house in Namibia. He tells me that the church gives him donations for preaching the gospel. The church pays the money directly to his family. He seems to be living very well. He eats well everyday. Often I would see him at the grocery store and he would be buying steak, a luxury that many car watchers don’t have.

In the evenings, Jolly Jumper waits for the fishing boats to come in so that he can buy fish from them. He tells me that he buys the fish for nine rand each and then sells them for 13 rand. This is a good way for him to make extra money during the slow periods.
Hopes for the Future

Jolly Jumper is content with his life. He tells me that he will car watch as long as he is physically able. It allows him to support himself and preach the gospel at night. He has no plans to return to Namibia or his family. Preaching the gospel is his mission in life and as long as his family is cared for, he doesn’t worry. When I asked his if he feels bad for leaving his family, he got defensive and told me that he is doing God’s work.

Theoretical Field Notes

Three independent raters evaluated the data and agreed on the following themes for Jolly Jumper’s interview: (a) spirituality and his calling to preach the gospel; (b) separation from family; and (c) satisfaction with lifestyle and employment; (d) support of family.

Member Check

I returned to Jolly Jumper three months after our initial interviews for a follow-up interview. I read the transcribed notes to him. He agreed that the notes were accurate. He informed me that his son never came to help him. He still has hopes that he will come soon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Car Watcher</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Relationship Status</th>
<th>Number of Children</th>
<th>Length of Time Car Watching</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aaron</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 Years</td>
<td>Standard 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>Widowed/Repartnered</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2 Years</td>
<td>Standard 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tollman</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6 Months</td>
<td>Standard 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>37*</td>
<td>Married &amp; Girlfriend</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4 Years</td>
<td>Standard 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13 Years</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donovan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13 Years</td>
<td>Standard 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4 Months</td>
<td>Standard 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ivan</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Single</td>
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<td>4 Months</td>
<td>Standard 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandla</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 Years</td>
<td>Standard 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jolly</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 Year</td>
<td>Standard 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Summary of Demographic Information of Car Watchers

*Note: Participant reported age of 37; birth date of 1963 would actually make him 39 years of age.
Categorization of Themes

My research colleagues and I found six major domains revealed from the data. This section will compare and contrast the six domains that emerged from the data of the ten participants: (a) Family concerns; (b) Work Issues; (c) Education; (d) Concerns with Self; (e) Home Life; and (f) Future Issues. Each domain is further broken down into theme categories. For a summary of the domains and categories please see Table 2.

Triangulation of Themes

In this section, I will clarify the process of theme development and triangulation in this study. The triangulation of the data involved four people: my research assistant in South Africa, two graduate student colleagues, and me. Formulation of the themes was done independently (Patton, 1990.)

While in South Africa, my research assistant and I independently examined the data to both identify themes and eliminate extraneous dialogue (Patton, 1990.) The dialogue that was eliminated contained conversations with the car watchers that were not pertinent to the research, such as general small talk. Prior to the final editing of the data, the two of us compared notes to ensure that the data being eliminated was extraneous. Any disagreement of eliminated data would result in an inclusion of the data (Patton, 1990.) We had decided that since there were only two of us in this initial process, we would rely on the later triangulation process for further editing since there would be two more people involved.
Once the transcripts were edited, the data were analyzed and themes were noted. My research assistant and I developed themes during my time in South Africa so that we could discuss theme development. The interviews were coded using two classes of codes: descriptive codes and analytical codes (Glesne, 1999.) Descriptive codes describe the topic of discussion and analytical codes seek to explain the reason behind a particular issue or topic (Glesne, 1999.) The two of us identified seven domains, the six mentioned above plus the additional theme of “relationships with others.” (The seventh domain was assimilated later in the triangulation process, which I will address later.) Within the seven domains, we identified 17 themes in the data. Any disagreement in coding resulted in a discussion deciding if the theme in question was able to be assimilated with another. If there was not clear rationale as to why a domain should be assimilated, we kept the domain or theme (Patton, 1990.) We would repeat this process during the triangulation period later in the United States.

In the United States of America, my graduate student colleagues independently analyzed the data to develop the domains and to formulate themes within the domains (Patton, 1990.) The research assistants were given resources explaining the coding method using descriptive and analytical codes (Glesne, 1999.) My colleagues identified six domains in the data. Upon discussion with my colleagues and my research assistant, the two themes in the category of “relationship with others” were assimilated into two existing themes: (1) perceived lack of respect and (2) work. The data from the theme “experienced lack of respect from car
owners” was incorporated into the data of “perceived lack of respect” in the “work” category. The data from the theme “inability to care for others” was incorporated into the data of “embarrassment/shame/self-esteem” in the “self” category.

Triangulation of the data resulted in six domain and 15 themes. The triangulation process of these themes is discussed next. In chapter five, the themes will be discussed in detail. Please see Table 2 for a representation of the themes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domains</th>
<th>Number of Car Watchers who Share Similar Concerns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family concerns</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separation of Family</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to Contribute to Society</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inability to Support Children/family</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Desire to have a Family</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance of Self-esteem</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stability of Income</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction in Employment</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived Lack of Respect</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Concerns with self</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggle for Self Sufficiency</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Concerns</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embarrassment/Shame/Self-esteem</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expressed Spirituality</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sacrifice of Education</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homelife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissatisfaction with Living Conditions</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Struggle to Satisfy Basic Needs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Hope for Change</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Summary of Domains and Number of Car Watchers who share Similar Concerns
Integration of Themes

All coders agreed that work issues and family issues were the primary concerns in the car watcher’s lives. In the interviews, all coders saw themes of separation from family. Related to this theme was the theme of inability to support children or family. All coders noted that in some manner, the inability to support the family resulted in separation. In some circumstances, the family was unable to support the car watcher. However, most frequently it was the car watcher as head of the household that could not support the family and as a result he left to find work.

This inability to find work was also linked to the theme of inability to contribute to society. Three out of the four coders reported the inability to contribute to society was a theme. Nine of the ten car watchers expressed a wish to obtain a job that would contribute to the betterment of society. The coder that disagreed with this theme expressed that this wish pertained more to contributing to the family.

Two coders identified a theme of desire to have a family. Although only three car watchers voiced the need to have a family, most of them suggested that if they were more financially stable they would then consider a family. The two coders who disagreed with this theme voiced that the desire to have a family was only noted by the three who currently had children and wanted to spend more time with them. The split decision on this theme resulted in its inclusion (Patton, 1990.)

For the domain of work issues, all coders identified the themes of maintenance of self-esteem, stability of income, dissatisfaction in employment, and perceived lack of respect. All of the car watchers reported that the weather’s affect
on their income was a concern. Even the two men who earned a salary car watching commented that during inclement weather, times were tougher. As for self-esteem, all car watchers noted that the fact that they were able to car watch, kept them from stealing or begging for money and food. They were proud of the fact that they were able to earn a living, however meager the income was. The theme of perceived lack of respect emerged from the informal car watchers.

All coders reported the theme of sacrifice of education. Each of the car watchers left school in order to support themselves or their family. They all reported that they felt an education did not promise a better life during the apartheid years.

Under the domain concerns with self, all coders reported a main theme of struggle for self-sufficiency. The only three car watchers who did not express the concern to be self-sufficient, were individuals that had an additional income to car watching. Therefore, the coders believed that car watchers who depended solely on tips expressed a struggle to be self-sufficient. Three out of four coders identified the theme of health concerns and embarrassment/shame. The coder who did not report these two themes believed that they would fall under struggle for self-sufficiency. Although the other coders agreed, they felt that these themes could stand independently. All four coders did identify the theme of spirituality. They found that the one car watcher that was most satisfied with his life, Jolly Jumper, was very spiritual.

Under the domain of home life, all coders identified the themes of dissatisfaction with living conditions and struggle to satisfy basic needs. Eight out of
the 10 car watchers were dissatisfied with their living conditions. These eight did not have plumbing in their home and seven of the eight did not have electricity. The two who were satisfied did have both plumbing and electricity in their home. In addition to the lack of plumbing and electricity, these eight men also expressed a struggle to satisfy basic needs.

Although only three of the car watchers expressed *no hope for future change*, three coders found this to be a theme. Most of the car watchers did note disappointment in the post-apartheid government. The coder who disagreed thought that this lack of hope fell under the domain of home life.

**Car Owners**

In order to better understand the interactions between the car watchers and the car owners, I interviewed a small sample of the car owners. I interviewed the car owners separate from the car watchers because I suspected that my alliance with the car owners might be affected if they witnessed me interviewing the car owners. I briefly interviewed 10 car owners: five local residents and five tourists. I found that the car watchers perceptions of the car owners were quite accurate.

*Summary of Interviews with Car Owners*

Of the five tourists, two were residents of Cape Town, two were residents of Gauteng, and one was from England. Each of the tourists noted that they felt obligated to pay the car watchers for watching their cars. They expressed compassion for car watcher's living conditions and recognized that they had some admiration that they were earning an honest living. Although the tourists paid the car owners, they
did note some mild frustration that they felt obligated to pay even if they were leaving their cars for only a few minutes. Overall, the tourists stated that they felt more at ease about leaving their cars knowing that someone was watching over them.

The residents from Knysna had differing reactions to the car watchers. Two of them had moved from Cape Town so they were used to high crime rates and valued the service of the car watchers. However, these two tourists did note some frustration that some car watchers would ask for money even if they only had to leave the car for a moment. They also noted that they currently paid the car watchers less than when they came to Knysna as tourists. One resident remarked,

After I moved to Knysna, I realized how safe it was. Well, compared to Cape Town it was safe. There are many times that I know my car will be safe even if no one is watching it; but I give the car watcher a couple rand. I know that I am better off than they are, but it is silly to pay five rand when all you are doing is running in to buy milk or bread quickly.

The three other residents of Knysna expressed much more frustration with the car watchers. These car owners felt that Knysna is safe during the day so there is no need to pay to have their cars watched. When I asked them if there was a time that the car watchers would be more needed, all three suggested during the night. One man summed up their feelings:

Every place I go, there are blacks asking for money. I know it is hard for them but it is not so easy for anyone now. Well, most of us
anyway. I go to buy bread and I must pay a couple rand. Then I go
post a letter and I must pay. If I just want to go to bank, I must pay. It
takes many rand to take care of your business. Then at night they all
go home. That is when the cars are broken into. Where are the car
watchers then? Or on the back streets during the day.

All of the car owners admitted that car theft and vandalism are serious
problems. All of them admitted when they go on holiday, they would be more
willing to pay to have there cars watched since they would not be familiar with the
area. They all expressed some compassion for the hardship of the car owners. The
frustration emerged when they felt pressures to pay outside of their leisure time.
CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine motivation and meaning among the car watchers in Knysna, South Africa. Specifically, it focused on the personal histories of 10 male car watchers who were once oppressed under apartheid to explore how their past and current living conditions affect their outlook on the present and future. The discussion begins with an integration of the personal histories of the car watchers with theories of meaning and motivation. Next, directions for future research are presented followed by a discussion of implications for cross-cultural psychology. Finally limitations of the study are addressed.

Motivation and Meaning

Viktor Frankl created his theory of motivation that combined the concepts of motivation and meaning. His theory suggests that human beings have a motivational force to search for meaning in their lives. While understanding that each individual is unique in how they search for meaning, there are usually three ways that a person seeks meaning: by creating work or doing a deed, by experiencing something or encountering someone, and by the attitude we take toward unavoidable suffering
(Frankl, 2000.) Both Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers suggest that people are motivated by the desire for self-acceptance and to self-actualize. Maslow’s theory of motivation suggests that humans operate on a hierarchy of needs which influence behavior. However, Maslow stipulates that people must satisfy their basic needs before they can move on to the more advanced needs for safety, love, esteem and self-actualization. Frankl insists that an individual’s “will to meaning” is the strongest motivation for living. Even in times of great suffering, a person will strive to find meaning and motivation for living (Frankl, 1984.) Frankl believed that for life to be complete there must be suffering; however, there must also be a search for the meaning of the suffering to resolve the issues of emotional stress. Frankl argues that humans "can only live by looking to the future" (Frankl, 1963, p. 115). For the car watchers, the motivation to look to the future to find resolution of their oppressive past may be impeded by their basic survival needs.

The car watchers, for the most part, appear to be immobilized by their necessity to satisfy basic survival needs and thus are not able to pursue the higher levels of motivation as presented by Maslow. Frankl identifies that individuals’ ability to self-actualize is affected by the people and circumstances in their culture. The aftermath of apartheid and the daily struggle to acquire food and maintain shelter are obstacles preventing many of the car watchers from achieving self-actualization
and the other hierarchical levels in between. Maslow also identifies that self
actualization is not merely a yearning from within; it involves interaction with the
external factors of the day-to-day world (Maslow, 1943).

Of the 10 car watchers, two seemed to be able to move into more advanced
stages of Maslow’s hierarchy. Ivan and Jolly Jumper both did not experience the
same struggle for basic needs as the other eight car watchers. Ian receives both a
salary for car watching and a pension from the army. Jolly Jumper has financial
assistance from his church. Both of these men have satisfied Maslow’s Level One,
their physiological needs. They both live in homes with electricity and plumbing;
they have adequate food, and are able to save money for difficult times. In addition,
the safety/security needs (Level Two) and the social needs (Level Three) also appear
to be satisfied. They both are able to save for the future and have satisfying social
lives. Ivan appears to be working to satisfy his esteem needs (Level Four) where he
is attempting to hone his musical talents. Jolly Jumper, at the age of 66, appears to be
satisfied with his life and is fulfilling his purpose of spreading the gospel. The eight
men who appear to be in Level One show minimal contemplation of any of the higher
levels. They would repeatedly tell me that as long as they struggled on a daily basis,
food was foremost in there thoughts.

Motivation and Work

In Maslow's terms, we might think of finding work as the search for security.
The car watcher’s basic needs can only be satisfied on the days that they are able to
work. Most of the research pertaining to motivation, work, and self-satisfaction has
been done in Western cultures. People in affluent societies see such security needs as relatively easy to achieve. In most Western societies, basic needs are easier to satisfy and it has become the nature of work and its relationship with the rest of life that is more important. For Westernized people, the creation of a decent standard of living is the purpose of their work (Neff, 1977.)

Walter Neff states that work affects most every aspect of human culture including people’s emotions, feelings, social beliefs, attitudes, and personality (Neff, 1977.) Motivation in work draws from people having a sense of achievement, recognition, responsibility and opportunities for personal growth.

Neff asserts that each type of work has a subculture, having its own traditions and customs. In addition, he suggests that work has an impact on self-identity and how others identify the individual. The car watchers felt that they should be doing work that makes a contribution to society. They viewed their work as providing a means for survival but did not view the work as making a significant contribution to society. The car watchers believed that as long as they were car watchers, they would not have the respect of others.

The car owners agreed with the car watchers on the importance of car watching. Many of them paid to have their car watched; however, they believed that Knysna was a relatively safe area and that their cars would be fine regardless of whether or not they were watched.

There also appears to be a subculture among the car watchers that includes a hierarchy. The car watchers idealized those who earned salaries in addition to tips.
Furthermore, there seemed to be a racial hierarchy among the car watchers. During apartheid, adequate education was not offered to black Africans. Therefore, their language skills are more limited than those of “coloured” Africans. Because of this lack in skills, black car watchers are limited in their interactions with the car owners, which in turn affects the amount of tips that they earn and the likelihood that a business would formally hire them. Both Ivan and Jolly Jumper identify themselves as “coloured.” The coloured car watchers made it a point to let me know that they are colored and not black. They also exhibited more interaction with the car owners and even reported enjoying the work because of this interaction. It appears that the municipality car watchers were made up mostly of black Africans. The municipality car watching positions were also the least desired among the car watchers. Car owners who park on municipality streets tend to tip less than the other areas. The black car watchers reported fewer interactions with car owners and that they experienced less job satisfaction.

Integration of Themes

Family Concerns

Issues surrounding the car watchers’ families appear to be in the forefront of their minds. During my time spent with the car watchers, I could sense their sadness about being away from their families. Many of the car watchers have not spoken to their families in years. I often thought of how often I am able to pick up the phone to call my sister and how I take that privilege for granted. None of the car watchers or their families has telephones in their homes. In addition, the car watchers could not
tell me when they might be able to see their family again. They had no money to spare for transportation. Also, most houses in the townships do not have formal addresses so letters from home are not possible. Many of the car watchers are not even sure if certain family members are still living.

*Separation from family.* All 10 interviews revealed that the car watchers were separated from members of their families. All of the men left their homes due to financial hardships. Five of the men were separated from their significant others and their children. Of these five men, four felt guilt and shame over not being able to support their families and chose not to have contact. Jolly Jumper was the only man who was able to support his family since the church was sending them wages from his missionary work. All 10 of the men indicated that they would not be able to see their families to the extent they wished due to lack of funds to travel.

*Inability to contribute to society.* Nine of the 10 men felt that they were not contributing to the betterment of society. Jolly Jumper is the only exception to this belief. He made a contribution through missionary work that he did in his free time. The other men spent their free time fetching water and wood. Overall, they did not find satisfaction that car watching contributed something valuable to society. Aaron displayed his shame by saying, “I can’t say there is anything that I am a veteran of.” He felt that in order to be able to contribute to his children’s betterment, he needed to have a skill or knowledge to pass on.
Inability to support family. As stated before, four out of the five men with children were unable to financially support their families. For the single men, four out of the five made the choice not to have a partner or children until they were financially secure. Ivan was the exception. He was earning a salary from MacIntosh and a pension from the army, so his reasons for being single were not due to the inability to be self-sufficient. Instead, he made the choice to help support his family instead of pursuing a mate.

Desire to have a family. The desire to have a family was significantly less important than the desire to maintain basic needs. Only Aaron, Tollman, and Jolly Jumper all expressed the importance of having a family. Tollman and Jolly Jumper already have children. Tollman expressed that in the future, he wanted to have a traditional family with a wife and a nice house where they all lived together. He did not feel that he could have this future with his current children and any of their mothers due to financial constraints. Jolly Jumper expressed pride in his children. He felt satisfaction through having a family. Aaron was the only single man who expressed the desire for having a family. Although he could not imagine being able to support a family in the near future, he had dreams of being a father some day. Of the single men, three out of the five were more concerned with being self-sufficient; therefore a family was not a concern to them. Of the five car watchers with children, four of them expressed regret in having them without the ability to support them.
Work Issues

In addition to family issues, the car watchers expressed work issues as being another primary concern. The inability to find lucrative work was a daily struggle for most of the car watchers. Every morning, as I walked through Knysna, I would see dozens of men on the main road looking for work. Daily, a few pickup trucks would come to town to find men for casual labor work. The trucks would pull up to a group of men and they would swarm around the vehicle. It was common to see over 30 men swarming around a truck and only two or three of them would be chosen. By late morning, most of the men would give up waiting for work and would walk the streets asking for food or money.

Maintenance of self-esteem. Car watching appeared to be a source of maintaining self-respect for each of the car watchers. The car watchers all noted that as long as they can make an income car watching, they would not have to beg for money and food. Car watching was a source of pride. Even the men, who admitted that car watching wasn’t an important job, expressed that they provided a needed service. Simply stated, car watching contributed to their ability to maintain some self-esteem. They felt some pride that at least they didn’t have to swarm around the trucks to beg for a days work.

Stability of income. To some extent, all car watchers interviewed worried about the instability of their income. David and Ivan expressed less concern due to the fact that they earn a salary. However, they noted that they relied on tips to supplement their income. The remaining car watchers, who did not earn a salary, felt
anxiety over the instability of their income. Most of the stress and anxiety was a result of bad weather. In the winter and on rainy days, there are fewer tourists and as a result the car watchers make less money. There are times when they have to go without food because the weather prohibits them from car watching.

*Dissatisfaction with employment.* Eight of the men interviewed revealed dissatisfaction with their work. Jolly Jumper was the only car watcher who was not looking for better work. Ivan noted that he would be satisfied watching cars for a long time; however, he stated that if a better job came along, he would take it. Ivan also is receiving a pension from the army and a salary from MacIntosh to watch cars. Jolly Jumper had a long satisfactory work history in Namibia and appears to be enjoying the leisure of car watching and preaching the gospel in Knysna. He feels that he has lived a good life and is now motivated to help others through car watching and preaching the gospel. Also, Jolly Jumper has been in South Africa for less than a year so he had not experienced the same hardships of the other men.

Of the eight men who were dissatisfied with car watching, two of them felt they could not find better jobs and noted that they would struggle to survive until they would receive their government pension at the age of 65. Two more men felt no hope for the future and did not speculate on alternatives to car watching. Finally, four of the men hoped to find better work that required some formal training but had no idea how they might pay for it. All of the men expressed disappointment in the new government’s lack of ability to lower the unemployment rate. Five of the men even
noted that the ability to find work was better during apartheid. The economy was
better and many trucks would go to the locations to find people for casual labor.

Perceived lack of respect. Three men expressed feeling a lack of respect
among the car owners. Each of these three men also reported that at times, car
owners would warn them not to harm the cars. All 10 men admitted that each day
they feel that they are verbally abused by at least one car owner; however, seven men
claimed that lack of respect does not concern them. Amos summed up the car
watchers’ feelings best: “Respect is not near as important as eating. I will just listen
so that I can eat.”

The car owners admitted that they did get frustrated with having to pay the car
watchers. At times, this frustration resulted in negative comments to the car
watchers. In my conversations with the car owners, I got the impression that car
watching was perceived on the same level as panhandling. I did sense a lack of
respect for the car watchers.

Education

Although schooling is compulsory in South Africa to Standard 10, I saw
hundreds of black children loitering throughout Knysna. I often wonder what their
future holds. Andrew explained to me that education is worthless because there are
no jobs. I imagine that to a hungry family, learning to read is less important than
finding food.
Sacrifice of education. All of the ten men interviewed sacrificed their education in order to support themselves or their families. Andrew was the only car watcher who expressed a total disregard for education. The other car watchers felt that school was important for learning English and Afrikaans. These languages make it possible for them to gain employment. They were able to make the distinction between a practical skill – learning a language versus learning information that had no direct pragmatic application. In contrast, they believed that an education was not a priority for them. Each of them made decisions to quit school in order to find work. Five of the car watchers were pressured to leave home as adolescents because they were a financial burden the family. Three of them left school in order to find work to support the family. The remaining two car watchers, including Andrew, felt that education was of no value.

In general, the car watchers all expressed the belief that the struggle to meet their basic needs of food and shelter takes priority over seeking knowledge. They believe that education is a luxury that they could never afford. These men all attended school during the era of apartheid. During that time, nonwhites were merely considered a source of labor. For the most part, nonlabor jobs were not an option for them. They understood that receiving an education would not benefit them financially. As adults, they feel that the time for education has passed. They concentrate solely on day-to-day existence.
Concerns with Self

The car watchers expressed that self-concerns were viewed with lesser importance. The men felt that emphasis should be placed on finding work that would enable them to contribute to others. Tollman demonstrated this mindset by explaining that although he would like to be able to live alone and be independent; he lives with another couple to share expenses so that he can send money to his children. Once his children are taken care of, he could concentrate on his own needs. Ivan also feels obligated to take care of his parents. They all felt being self-sufficient was important, it just was not a primary concern.

Struggle for self-sufficiency. Seven of the men expressed a struggle to be self-sufficient. All seven of these men had no income other than earnings from car watching. They indicated that the income from watching cars was not steady enough to be self-sufficient. The three men who did not share this concern were Jolly Jumper, David, and Ivan. David and Ivan received a salary for car watching and Jolly Jumper receives support from his church.

Health concerns. Three of the men interviewed noted that falling ill was a concern for them. Both the ability to pay for health care and the absence of earnings was a worry. All three men had experienced bad health in the past; therefore, they have lived through the consequences of falling ill. The others had not reported any serious illnesses and expressed only minor concern about missing a day’s wage due to illness.
Embarrassment, shame, and self-esteem. Four of the car watchers expressed some amount of embarrassment and shame that affected their self-esteem. These men were the car watchers that had to wait in the wings for their spot to open from the daytime car watchers. Again, this is an example of the hierarchy of car watching. These men had to wait until the formal car watchers abandoned their posts. Aaron expressed the most shame and embarrassment. He positioned himself in a location where those who knew him wouldn’t see him. He also was the only man who appeared to be embarrassed to talk with me, “a rich American,” about his living conditions. The other men expressed their shame about not being able to find a salaried job and support their family.

Expressed spirituality. Jolly Jumper was the only car watcher who stated that spirituality was important to him. Each time I spoke with him, he would take some time to talk to me about being a Christian. I got the impression that his preaching was a gift that he could give me. None of the other car watchers ever mentioned the role of spirituality in their lives. I did not specifically ask questions about spirituality because I did not want to influence the car watchers. I felt that if I initiated the topic, the men might agree that spiritually was important in order to impress me. Christianity has held a strong presence in South Africa since the time of the missionaries. As a white man, I may have elicited assumptions of being Christian.

The fact that spirituality did not come up during the interviews of nine car watchers leads me to believe that it did not hold a primary place in their daily lives. I did inquire about native traditions. None of the men acknowledged the role of any
native customs or spiritual traditions in their lives. This acknowledgment was my first realization that these men may be members of a marginalized population – belonging to a culture that is no longer Afro centric and not yet fully westernized. More research needs to be done on spirituality among South Africans.

Home Life

Due to safety issues, I was not able to experience first-hand the car watchers home life. Each car watcher informed me that I might not be safe in the townships. I would be identified as a wealthy white foreigner and possibly be robbed. I had to rely on their descriptions of their homes and their daily activities. However, I was able to drive past the townships a various occasions. From a distance, I saw poverty that I could never have imagined. Homes were made of materials that were discarded, such as scrap wood and card board. Cows and pigs would roam freely among the houses.

Dissatisfaction with living conditions. Eight of the men interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with their living conditions. Jolly Jumper and Amos were the only car watchers who were pleased with their living environment. Jolly Jumper is fortunate to live in Hornlee and pays rent for a home with plumbing and electricity. Amos lives in the township and built his own home. Even though his living conditions are similar to those who are dissatisfied, he found satisfaction in the fact that he built his own house. David is staying in a cement block house with friends and lives in an addition that he made with discarded wood. He would like to live in his own home but tells me that he would not have a toilet if he lived in a house he built himself. Ivan also lives in Hornlee with his parents and has electricity and
plumbing; however, there are 13 people living in the small home. He would like to have his own place. Tollman has electricity in his self-made home but has no water. The remaining five car watchers all live in houses made of scrap wood with no water or electricity. They must fetch water and wood for heating each day.

*Struggle to satisfy basic needs.* Although all of the car watchers expressed some anxiety over instability of income, eight of them noted a daily struggle to satisfy basic needs. Jolly Jumper and Ivan are the only car watchers who did not have to struggle to maintain food and shelter. Once again, these are the only two men who have multiple incomes (Jolly Jumper – car watching and church donations, Ivan – salaried car watching and army pension.) The remaining car watchers felt that each day they had to struggle to eat, find firewood, and fetch water. These men reported that when they were not car watching, they would spend their time searching for necessities of food, water, and wood. When I asked them what they did in their leisure time, they all admitted that there is very little free time.

*Future Issues*

Each car watcher noted disappointment in post-apartheid South Africa. When apartheid ended, they had high hopes of a better life. They all spoke of broken promises from the government – promises of more jobs and better homes. Due to the poor economy of South Africa, there is little governmental money to build homes. The unemployment rate is very high and the car watchers have very limited
education; therefore, they are not competitive for many job opportunities. Further schooling and training at their adult age seems unlikely. Much of South Africa’s attention is geared toward educating the youth for a brighter future.

_No hope for change_. Three of the men felt that the future would not be better for them. Norman felt that he had no choice but to wait for his pension and noted that he would still have to struggle to survive then. Aaron and David were so distraught about the future that they wished not to discuss it with me. Although the rest did not express a concern about the future, four of the men hoped to acquire training to gain better employment. This hope may wane over time if they realize that they cannot pay for the training. Jolly Jumper was the only man who expressed having satisfaction for his future. He also was the only man who expressed great faith in his spirituality. The other men did not share their spiritual beliefs with me.

Summary of Prominent Themes

Of the six major domains in the data, there were four that appeared most prominent: family, work, home life, and education. Also, these domains have an impact on one another. For example, each car watcher spoke of being separated from family to some extent. This separation was often a result of the need to find work and become self-sufficient. Education was also affected by the car watchers’ home life. In order to satisfy basic needs, the car watchers deemed it necessary to sacrifice education for work. The car watchers who hope to have family also realize that they have no means to provide for this responsibility. In addition, they are currently not
able to see their family because their travel possibilities are limited due to lack of income. Often the car watchers feel a sense of hopelessness because the interaction of these obstacles appears overwhelming.

Implications for Cross-cultural Psychology

This research suggests that meaning and motivation in life varies across cultures. Western theories of meaning and motivation appear to be future focused or fixed to a hierarchy. In Frankl’s (2000) theory, an individual must be motivated to live for the future. Quality of life in Western society is more likely to allow an individual to be more focused on the future. Reiss (2000) challenges Maslow’s theory of motivation and claims that each person has his or her own hierarchy of basic desires. Although each person shares the same desires, it is how he or she experiences the strength of each desire that affects the personal interaction with one another. Because of this variation in the basic desires, no two people benefit from the identical experience in the same way (Reiss, 2000). Reiss’ model may have an advantage over Maslow’s for cross-cultural studies.

Reiss’ model for motivation is nonlinear and also accounts for individual differences in value systems. The car watchers placed varying importance on many issues, including the importance of relationships, education, self-esteem, and spirituality. While Maslow’s linear model proposes that higher needs are not able to be satisfied unless the lower needs are met. Reiss identifies that people place individual needs within their own hierarchy. Reiss identifies that people can be struggling for basic needs while at the same time be satisfying other needs within
their personal hierarchy. The car watchers support this individual hierarchy. While eight out of the ten are struggling to satisfy their basic needs, some of them are attempting to satisfy the higher needs such as family and relationships.

Another implication for cross-cultural research addresses the car watchers as being a marginalized group. The car watchers appear falling in the margin between Afro centric and Western theories. Berry (1980) proposed a model of acculturation strategies that refer to the plan or the method that individuals use in responding to stress-inducing new cultural contexts. Marginalization is the strategy in which individuals ‘lose cultural and psychological contact with both their traditional culture and the larger society’ (Berry, 1998, p. 119).

None of the car watchers identified strongly with their cultural heritage. In contrast, they also do not have the financial resources to assimilate into the affluent Western culture in South Africa. Assimilation strategy occurs when the individual decides not to maintain his or her cultural identity by seeking contact in his/her daily interaction with the dominant group (Berry, 1980.) When I asked them of their ethnic background, the men could name their tribe, but at the same time would express a wish to be able to live more like the white people in the area. They wanted to be able to drive cars, go to restaurants, and own a home with basic plumbing and electricity. Future studies should seek to identify how oppression influences cultural identity and acculturation strategies. It may be the case that Western and Afro centric theories are not relevant to individuals who do not fall into these categories.
When performing research on populations that were once colonized, it is important to explore the effects of colonization on that population. Fanon (1963) asserted that decolonization is a life-long process and that one is never decolonized. Due to this eternal process, marginalized populations experiencing decolonization may experience long term cultural stress.

Also, it is important to once again note that language barriers have an effect on cross-cultural studies. As I watched the translator struggle for words to accurately describe the responses to a car watcher, I realized that precious details may be lost in translation.

**Directions for Future Research**

More research needs to be done to investigate the struggle to satisfy physiological needs and its effects on personal motivation in non-Western societies. The majority of research done on motivation and work has been done primarily in Western cultures. In addition, this research focuses more on motivation in terms of better performance of employees. Increasingly today people, and specifically younger people in developed societies, see security needs as relatively easy to achieve. Also the consequences of long-term unemployment should be explored. Are sufferers of chronic unemployment too demoralized or too unmotivated to make the required effort to obtain employment? What is the difference between car watchers and people who don’t work?

Another area for future research pertains to Sommer and Baumeister’s (1998) suggestion that people’s need for self-worth is affected by how they are perceived by
others. The current generation of South Africans who were educated during apartheid may well become the forgotten generation. These people did not have access to quality education and therefore are currently limited to unskilled and manual jobs. Current emphasis in South Africa is placed on educating the youth. As the younger generation ages and becomes more educated, how will this affect their perception of the older generation? In future research, it is important to examine how the effects of a younger more educated generation affects the perceived self-worth their elders. If the emerging more educated generation does not show positive regard for people like the car watchers, how will this affect self-worth? How will this affect society’s view of elders? Will the elders experience “double oppression” – oppression from apartheid and classism from the next generation?

Future research might also involve a program that enables the car watchers to obtain skills for more desired work. When the car watchers basic needs are satisfied, then a researcher can investigate the process of attributing motivation and meaning into their lives. Only then, can these Western theories be investigated for their relevance to less affluent non-Western cultures.

Finally, future research should represent both genders. Men and women are likely to differ in their perspectives on motivation and meaning. In this study, the men noted concerns about the inability to support their family. It is probable that the women being the primary caretaker of the children in these instances would place a different priority on the children.
Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study include issues pertaining to myself as the researcher, language barriers, the location of the research and makeup of the participants, and the use of Western theories. In addition, safety issues prevented me from fully immersing into the culture of the car watchers. Being a white-Caucasian male, as the primary researcher I had an impact on the interaction between the car watchers and myself. Since I was paying them a fee for participating, the car watchers could have felt the need to please me so that I would continue paying them for services. For example, the car watchers’ desire to agree with me in order to be paid and possibly provide a service in the future could have affected my member checks. When they spoke with my research assistant, they had the tendency to challenge his interpretations more than they did mine.

My presence at the car-watching site may have kept the car owners from interacting with the car owners naturally. The car owners may have interacted more positively due to the presence of my clipboard and cassette recorder. I did notice that when I would observe car watchers in other South African towns, there were much more negative interactions between the car watchers and car owners. Since Knysna is a small town, it took relatively little time for the locals to learn that there was an American “writing a book” about car watchers in Knysna. A couple times I experienced people asking me if I was “the man from America who was writing the book about Knysna.”
Language was also a limitation of this study. The majority of the car watchers that I interviewed spoke either Afrikaans or English. With the help of my research assistant, who spoke English and Afrikaans, these interviews went smoothly. I noticed that the translation of the interview with Amos was challenging. Amos only spoke Xhosa and his translator translated into Afrikaans. The translator would often struggle for adequate interpretations of certain concepts. My research assistant then had to translate from Afrikaans to English. We attempted to back translate the material but many of the concepts did not have direct translation.

The sample of car watchers being male also limits the study. I did notice that in other cities of South Africa there were significantly more female car watchers. In Knysna, there were only two women car watchers. One of these women chose not to participate in this study and the other was not present on a regular basis. I was unable to obtain an understanding as to why there are so few women car watchers in Knysna as compared to other cities.

In addition, the theories of motivation and meaning were developed with a Western perspective where physiological needs are more easily obtained. With this sample of the car watchers, the struggle for basic needs may override the effort it would take to contemplate meaning of their lives. Frankl also had the opportunity come full circle in his search for meaning. As he emerged from his oppression as a Jew in a concentration camp, he was able to view his suffering in retrospect. The concept of meaning may not be salient to car watchers.
Finally, ethnographic research relies on the ability of the researcher to become immersed in the culture of the sample being studied. As in the tradition of anthropology, ethnography focuses on understanding that any group of people who interact together for a period of time will exhibit a culture. I was not able to experience the home life of the car watcher first hand. They informed me that a Caucasian person, especially a “rich American,” would not be safe spending time in the townships. I made my best attempt to accurately relay the words of the car watcher as they describe their home life.

Conclusion

My life has been forever changed by these 10 men in South Africa. Although I cannot truly comprehend what life would be like in their shoes, I believe I have come to a better understanding of the effects of oppression. These men were stripped of their country’s citizenship and denied education and other opportunities that would permit them to prosper in a developing country. In the face of these obstacles, these men have not given up on life. Each day they are motivated to be self-sufficient and feel good about themselves and these men are finding meaning by providing a service and contributing to society. As South Africa struggles to reveal the truth of its past, it should listen to the suffering. “Now,…the unemployed man, the starving native do not lay claim to the truth; they do not say that they represent the truth, for they are the truth. (Fanon, 1963, p.49.)”
REFERENCES


APPENDIX B

Script for Verbal Consent

I consent to my participation in research being conducted by Mark Sampson of The Ohio State University and his assistant, Mario Sciocatti.

The investigator has explained the purpose of the study, the procedures that will be followed, and the amount of time it will take. I understand the possible benefits, if any, of my participation.

I know that I can choose not to participate without penalty to me. If I agree to participate, I can withdraw from the study at any time, and there will be no penalty.

• I consent to the use of audiotapes. I understand how the tapes will be used for this study.

I have had a chance to ask questions and to obtain answers to my questions. I can contact the investigator at sampson.31@osu.edu or locally, the research assistant at 382-1928

I have had this form read to me. I give my verbal consent freely and voluntarily. (Participant will acknowledge agreement verbally.)
APPENDIX C

Script for Recruitment of Participants

Script for car watchers

My name is Mario Sciocatti, I am a research assistant for Mark Sampson who is a doctoral student at The Ohio State University in the United States of America. We are looking for people who are self-appointed car watchers in and around Knysna so that we can learn about their personal histories and their views of their past and future. Ultimately, this study will result in a book that will illustrate your life and that of other car watchers.

This study will last from June until August of 2002 and then again in December of 2002. From June through August, Mark will have three weekly interviews with you that would last for approximately an hour. He will arrive at the site that you are car watching so that he can also watch how you spend your day. If this is not satisfactory, he will arrange to meet you at another location for the interview. You will be compensated seventy rand and a meal for your time. In December, Mark will contact you for one final follow-up interview and provide the same compensation.

Participation is completely voluntary and you may discontinue with the study at any time.

Would you be interested in participating in the study?

Where can we locate you during the week of June 17th?

Script for car owners

My name is Mark Sampson. I am a doctoral student at The Ohio State University in the United States of America. I am interviewing people who are self-appointed car watchers in and around Knysna so that I can learn about their personal histories and their views of their past and future. Ultimately, this study will result in a book that will illustrate their lives.
I would like to take a few minutes and ask you a few questions about your interactions with the car watcher so that I can get an idea of how car owners view the services that they provide.

Participation is completely voluntary and you may discontinue with the study at any time.

Would you be interested in participating in the study?
APPENDIX D

Primer Questions for interviews

Below is a list of primer questions that will be used in the interviews. These questions are not regimented and additional questions will be added as the need emerges. These should be considered primer questions. After each interview, follow-up questions will be constructed for clarification and expansion. Each interview will build upon previous interviews.

Home and family

Tell me about your family.

How many people are in your family?

How many live with you?

Tell me about them.

How often do you have contact with them?

Where are they located?

How do members of your family spend their time?

Work?

Unemployed?

Socially?
Tell me about your home.

Are you satisfied with your living conditions?

What do you like about them?

How would you like to see your living conditions change?

How long do you see yourself living in your current home?

Is that okay with you?

What is your age?

What is your education level?

Car watching

How did you get interested in car watching?

Do you have friends or family members who do this?

How did you decide on this location?

What do you enjoy about car watching?

Why?

What don’t you like about car watching?

Why?

Are you satisfied with the amount of money you earn from car watching? (How much do you earn?)

How do you compare yourself to other car watchers?

Would you like to be doing different work?
Past and future

How much time do you spend thinking about the future?

What do you think about?

Describe how you would like your future to be. How do you see yourself spending your time?

Do you feel that you can accomplish this?

Do you feel there is something holding you back from achieving this?

How much time do you spend thinking about your past?

What do you think about most?

Describe what it was like for you to experience apartheid.

Questions for car owners

How do you feel about the service that the car watchers provide?

Do you feel coerced to pay them?

How much do you feel comfortable giving them for this service?

Do you have any other comments about the car watchers?
APPENDIX E

Interview _____

Observational Notes

Setting:

Environmental Distractions:

Interviewer:

Length of the interview:
Date of the interview:

Interviewee:
Nonverbal communication:

Attitude towards interviewer:

Speech:

Physical/mental/emotional readiness:

Additional Notes:
APPENDIX F

Interview _____  Methodological Notes

Equipment problems and suggestions:

Logistics:

Which research questions did the interviewee struggle with?

What information was not obtained?

Process/Suggestions from interviewee:

Mental note to pursue with next interviewee:
APPENDIX G

Interview _____

Theoretical Notes

Main themes and issues in the interview:

Thoughts and insights on the meaning of what the co-investigator was saying:

New hypotheses, suggestions, guesses suggested by the interviewee:

Meaning:

Motivation:
APPENDIX H

Interview _____

Personal Notes

Feelings about the interview:

Feelings about the interviewee:

Doubts:

Anxieties:

Pleasures:
APPENDIX I

Debriefing Script

Thank you for participating in my study. You have completed a series of interviews that I will use for my study. The purpose of this study is to compare the responses of car watchers in the Knysna area in an attempt to understand how being oppressed may affect their motivation and meaning that they give their life.

Because the interviews are personal in nature and deal with sensitive topics, it is possible that you may have developed some concerns during the course of the study. If this is the case, you may wish to seek out someone to address these concerns with you. As a doctoral candidate in counseling psychology, I will make myself available and use my skills to help resolve any issues that may emerge from the interview. Also, I will be in town for two weeks after the study and will help you find a service to help you with this. Please feel free to call me in Knysna at 382-1928 and I will assist you in this process. If you have concerns after the two-week period, please contact my research assistant, Mario Sciocatti at 382-1928 and he will help you locate a service to help you.

Also, please feel free to contact me with any questions about this study.

Again, thank you for assisting me with this research. Your participation is greatly appreciated.

Mark G. Sampson, M.A.          Mario Sciocatti,  
Researcher                  Research Assistant  
382-1928 (local African contact number)    382-1928